The Outlook

Volume 84 *Saturday, October 20, 1906* *Number 8*

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THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The fourth issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

DISCONTINUANCES.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of The Outlook discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

HOW TO REMIT.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

LETTERS should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
287 Fourth Avenue, New York

Chicago Office, 1436 Marquette Building

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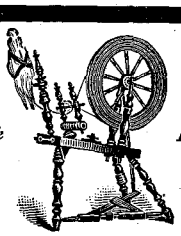

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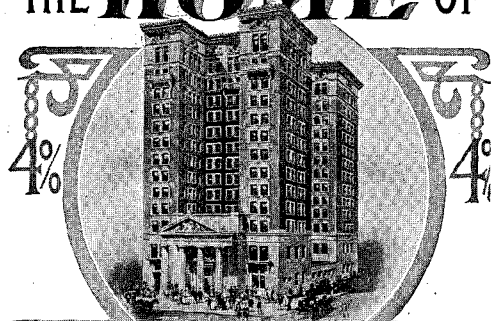

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1906

❀

"Up the State"

With the express purpose of learning at first hand the sentiment of voters in the State of New York, a member of the staff of The Outlook last week made a journey to the upper part of the State. By conversations with men in the streets, in the shops, and in their offices, by some confidential interviews with political leaders of both parties, by observing both candidates before hearers previously unacquainted with them, he encountered a great variety of opinion and feeling. The rush of Democrats, not all of independent temperament, to the support of Mr. Hughes, the nominee of the Republican party, was too obvious to require confirmation in personal talks; and the quiet intention of many more Democrats to vote for Mr. Hughes without openly breaking with their party was made apparent by the expressions of individuals; but the support given by former Republicans to Mr. Hearst, the nominee of his own incorporated Independence League and the Democratic party, was less obvious; it was therefore all the more interesting to unearth. In one of the larger cities a man sat in a cobbler shop with his stocking feet on a newspaper while the cobbler repaired his shoes. He was evidently a small tradesman. He was not a party man, but he might be termed normally a Republican. He predicted, rather vindictively, that Hearst would "sweep the State." He put his support of Hearst on the ground of the increase in the number of swollen fortunes, the idleness of rich men's sons, and the difficulty of competing with big concerns. A retail merchant of good standing in a much smaller city, heretofore a Republican, though from a family of Democratic traditions, was roused against the oppressive power of big corporations; he resented the action of the Railroad Commission in delaying action on the franchise for a through trolley line which would improve transportation facilities between several cities; he felt—rather than knew—that the franchise was held up by a railway that disliked the prospect of a competitor; he felt that the people were helpless because they had no way of holding the Commission to account; he vaguely felt that somehow Mr. Hearst could, if he would, cure all industrial and political evils; he was inclined to doubt, not Mr. Hearst's ability, but his real intentions; when he was asked as to the value of Mr. Hearst's specific promises, he was not prepared to answer. A mild-faced, quiet-voiced workingman, a Republican all his life, confessed his adherence to Mr. Hearst and predicted that the vote for him would be a surprise. A deaf old man, excited by the Hearst meeting, walked along the street shouting so that he could be heard a block away: "That's the man! I've been a Republican all my life, and I've been voting for a lot of rottenness. Talk about a square deal! What we want is a new deal—all 'round!" A watery-eyed young fellow, who finally turned into a saloon, said that he had heard nothing but Hearst until the day before; "You wouldn't 've known Hughes was runnin'," was the way he expressed it. In general, these men represented pretty fairly the groups which are supporting Mr. Hearst: the man who is embittered by class feeling and wants vengeance; the man suddenly roused against the unjust power of certain corporation managers, and about ready to accept any candidate who is vociferous in promising remedies; the unobtrusive socialistic workingman; the natural bigot who has fallen under the spell of Hearst; and the rather shiftless, thoughtless

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loafer who follows the herd to which he belongs. Unlike one another in many respects as these men are, they are alike in one respect, their reliance upon a single individual to deal with social and political ills. There was nothing of that sturdy self-reliance and instinct for self-government characteristic of those islanders off the coast of Maine whom Mr. Stowe tells about in another column; although none, except perhaps the first of these men, was apparently foreign of origin, their attitude toward public problems seemed to be that of the foreigner who looks to a kindly paternal government rather than that of an American who joins with his fellow-citizens in dealing with public problems at first hand.

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Party Fences Down

In contrast with the confidence of new converts to the Hearst movement was the calm belief expressed by Democrats, some within and some without the Hearst camp, that Mr. Hearst could not possibly be elected. With one exception, the avowed followers of Mr. Hearst expressed their faith with almost violent generalizations; the supporters of Mr. Hughes, on the other hand, were equally earnest but much more self-restrained in their opposition to Mr. Hearst. In no case did a Hearst follower give any reason for advocating Mr. Hearst's election beyond the fact that in some form or other he voiced their discontent. Mr. Hughes suffers from the disadvantage of comparative obscurity. Mr. Hearst has been advertising himself for years; Mr. Hughes is known only to those who followed the course of the insurance and other investigations. That this is not as great a disadvantage as it may seem was illustrated by the remark of a street-car conductor. He confessed that he took little interest in the campaign, but added: "I met a fellow the other day that was a Hearst man when he came to this city, and when he went away he was for—for—what's his name?—I forget—the other man." Yet this conductor, who could not even recall the Republican candidate's name, was evidently altogether inclined to support him. Party fences are so thoroughly broken down in the State of New York that voters do not remain long enough in any one pen to be counted. The traversing of party boundaries will probably be increased by the deals between the Independence League and the Democratic machine. How many of Mr. Hearst's followers who joined the Independence League will turn from him because of his transactions with Democratic bosses, and how many "machine" Democrats will "knife" him because of his reliance upon managers of the Independence League and his unfaithfulness to agreements, can only be surmised. The fact that Mr. Hearst has allowed Mr. Murphy to name most of the candidates on the judiciary ticket for New York County may alienate many men of the Independence League; the fact, which has lately transpired, that the Independence League is itself a corporation controlled by a small committee may alienate still more. On the other hand, both these facts may mollify machine Democrats who are not troubled by any political conscience so long as they see a chance for spoils. Members of labor unions won by Mr. Hearst's bid for their support seem to pay little attention to the significance of political trading, though there are signs that some of these are rebelling at the prospect of being delivered to Mr. Hearst by wholesale. At political rallies of both parties the noise is made by the few. The many are mainly interested in seeing the candidates and hearing the arguments.

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Mr. Hearst's Speeches

As the campaign in New York State develops it is becoming clearer every day that the issue is one between real reform and sham reform. Mr. Hughes, the nominee of the Republican party, but also the candidate to whom thousands of Democrats have given their allegiance, has shown in his speeches that his ability to master questions of governmental policy is equal to the ability he displayed at the insurance investigation in mastering the intricate and tortuous dealings of untrustworthy financiers. Mr. Hearst on the other hand,

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who is the nominee of the Independence League and the Democratic party, has treated public questions with insolent unfairness. His methods of discussion are so patently dishonest that they can be explained only on the ground that he expects his hearers to be so hypnotized by his reiterated statements and so mastered by passionate resentment against wrongs that they will not listen to reason. There is some basis for Mr. Hearst's expectation; for unquestionably there are a great many voters throughout the State, some of them of more than ordinary intelligence, who are allowing themselves to be guided by the catch-words of the so-called Hearst editorials. Instances of Mr. Hearst's irresponsibility in dealing with facts are so numerous that only one or two can be chosen as examples of the rest. This is an extract from Mr. Hearst's speech at Corning last week. That there may be no question as to its accuracy, we quote from the report of it in Mr. Hearst's own paper, the New York American:

> Now, my friends, as the net result of Mr. Hughes's investigation of the insurance companies, we have the substitution of ruthless Ryan for the more or less harmless Hyde. We may hope, if Mr. Hughes is elected and investigates the State departments as he investigated the insurance companies, that Mr. Ryan will soon have control of the banking institutions and the railway interests, as well as the insurance interests.

The fact that the transfer of stock from Mr. Hyde to Mr. Ryan took place, not as a consequence of the investigation, but weeks before the investigation was even decided upon; that Mr. Ryan put the stock into the hands of disinterested trustees; that, as a direct consequence of the investigation, one insurance president went practically into exile and another to death; that a new set of men have come into control of those companies in which abuses were discovered; and that, most important of all, a new body of drastic insurance laws was placed on the statute-book, Mr. Hearst knows as well as anybody. He made his statement apparently recklessly, assuming that most of those who heard or read it would not encounter the facts that prove it false. One more instance must suffice. Recently a Hearst paper stated on its editorial page that Mr. Hughes, after receiving a retainer from the Attorney-General of the State to help him argue a motion in a gas suit, took the money and went to Europe. Not only has the Attorney-General denied this, but Mr. Hughes has explained that he prepared for the argument and argued the case, and has not asked or got a cent. And yet Mr. Hearst up to this week has refused to put Mr. Hughes right before the community on a matter that concerns his personal and professional reputation. Last Sunday the American and Journal (as the Sunday edition is called) for the first time included the denial in a report of Mr. Hughes's speech, after Mr. Hughes had repeatedly stated in public that he had looked in vain for any editorial retraction. Mr. Hearst's morning paper in New York is named the American, and his policy and method he calls Americanism; but, as Mr. Hughes says, with admirable self-restraint, "Nothing is American that is not fair." Most of Mr. Hearst's argument consists in declarations in one form or another, but always adorned with epithets, that Mr. Hughes is the "corporation candidate of the corporation party," the chosen standard-bearer of the "plunderbund."

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Mr. Hughes's Speeches

Of Mr. Hughes's speeches, that in Odd-Fellows' Hall on the east side of Buffalo last week may be taken as typical. Situated in a quarter of the city inhabited largely by working people of German origin, the hall was filled with men most of whom were evidently wage-earners. A sleet storm, which covered the streets with slush several inches deep, stopped the street-cars, and broke down the wires so that the electric lights were extinguished, failed to prevent the gathering of a large crowd that occupied aisles as well as seats. Mr. Hughes began by explaining the sound business reasons that justified the formation of incorporated companies. Then he asked:

> Does my opponent, when he talks about the corporations, about corporation people, about corporation attorneys, about people controlled by corporations, fail to recognize these business reasons for corporations? Not at all. He is a corporation himself.

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He then explained that Mr. Hearst's papers were published by corporations: the New York American by the Star Company, the New York Evening Journal by the New York Evening Journal Publishing Company, and Das Morgen Journal by the Morning Journal Association. The authority for this was a letter, a copy of which Mr. Hughes had with him, signed by Clarence J. Shearn, counsel for these companies—"corporation attorney," as Mr. Hughes commented. In addition, there is another Star Company, a New Jersey corporation, organized just to hold stock, capitalized at one million dollars and bonded for one million dollars. Without any taxable property in New York, and bonded for the full amount of its capital, it pays no taxes in New York. The companies publishing the Evening Journal and the German Journal escape taxation because Mr. Shearn, as Secretary, petitioned to have the assessment revised on the ground that each had an indebtedness exceeding its assets. Mr. Hughes had failed to find any record that the other company, the Star Company that publishes the American, paid any taxes. By this means Mr. Hearst, who, according to the last available records, is the owner of substantially all the stock of these corporations, escapes not only the payment of taxes on these newspaper properties, but also the payment of damages for injuries and libels, as he has done. This is exactly the method of those trust magnates whom Mr. Hearst bitterly attacks. As Mr. Hughes said:

> Reform, like charity, should begin at home. And when anybody talks to me about corporations and the evils of corporations and the wrong things that are done by corporations, and I find out that he to all intents and purposes is a corporation, I want to know what he does. . . . I want to know whether we have in his own relation to corporate business such evidences of genuineness and sincerity that we can take any stock in what is promised.

Mr. Hughes affirmed his belief in the State control of corporations and in the labor laws—specifically in larger appropriations and equipment for the Department of Labor to enforce them, the Eight Hour Law, the Child Labor Law, and the Employers' Liability Law. In response to Mr. Hearst's large promise, made in his letter of acceptance of the Independence League nomination, that he would remove the head of the banking department, Mr. Hughes pointed out that it was the Senate that had the power to remove that official; but he added:

> I have seen a great deal in the public prints in regard to the condition of our Departments. . . . I haven't had information in any official or responsible way, but if I am elected, I propose to have an examination of my own. I have done something along that line; I think I know how to do it; and if you know anything about it, come and tell me; and when I find out in a responsible manner, after I have taken the oath of office, what the facts are, I shall deal with it justly and fearlessly.

Mr. Hughes has not been personally advertised as Mr. Hearst has been, but, if he has time before election day, he will make himself known to the people of the State.

❀

Political Uplift in Colorado

It was inevitable that Colorado should some day have a reaction from the political conditions that have obtained in that State for many years. The agricultural development has advanced so that the products of the farms exceed in value those of the mines, vast as is the mineral output of the Centennial State. Along with this progress has come a demand for a fairer political management, one that shall recognize those outside of Denver and not connected with the mines. Denver has nearly one-third of the State's voters; its street-car system is said to control Denver, and the president of the company is a political boss, with control of the Republican "machine." The Republicans nominated for Governor, Philip B. Stewart, who was in a hospital during the Convention. When he recovered, he demanded that Justice W. H. Gabbert, nominee for the Supreme Court, withdraw. This failing, Stewart himself left the ticket, and after his place had been offered to at least three others, it was accepted by the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Buchtel, formerly a missionary to Bulgaria, but now Chancellor of Denver University. He is a Methodist, and was

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pastor of several churches in Indiana. The Democrats have renominated Mr. Alva Adams, who was a candidate two years ago, an election scandal following the counting of the votes ending in the Lieutenant-Governor, J. F. MacDonald, acting as Governor during the biennium. Adams is running for a "vindication," and also on a promise that he will not be a candidate against United States Senator Thomas Patterson when the latter comes up for re-election next January. Patterson's domination of the Democratic Convention was as absolute as was that of Evans, the tramway magnate, in Republican ranks. Into this somewhat complicated situation has come the independent candidacy of Judge Ben B. Lindsey, famous as the head of the Juvenile Court of Denver, and author of the Adult Delinquency Law of Colorado. He is a Democrat, but freely denounces corruption in his own party, and has announced his candidacy for Governor on this simple platform: "Against bosses and bossism, and for representative government. If the fight requires the sacrifice of such a small thing as myself, I will gladly make it. The people shall not be disappointed by any weakness or evasion on my part. I am in the contest to win, come well, come ill." Naturally, Judge Lindsey, despite his prominence as a reformer and his effective work in transforming the Juvenile Court into a thing of helpfulness, has political enemies. These have been bitter in their attacks, and have robbed him of some support he expected. But the women of the State believe in him, and admire his work for children—and women vote in Colorado!

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Demand for Clean Hands

With the college students giving their "yell" for one candidate for Governor, the newsboys organizing marching clubs and "probation bands" for another, and the miners' union cheering for a third, the campaign is sufficiently spectacular for the most critical. But underlying all this is the demand of the citizenship of Colorado, which has at heart the good of the State and its institutions, for clean hands in State government and the elimination of special favors for particular interests. In a State where a large part of the population is employed by wealthy corporations, where conditions are such as to enable the unscrupulous political manipulator to secure advantages unfavorable to the welfare of his fellows and for his own profit, it requires unceasing vigilance on the part of the lovers of good government to secure rights in the interest of all. It is by no means certain that Judge Lindsey will win in his courageous contest. He will have against him the shrewdest politicians of both parties, and will be assailed by the cunning arts of the strongest interests in the business life of the State; but he will do this—inject into the campaign a sentiment for clean hands in government, a recognition of the rights of the average citizen as well as of those of the corporation and the union, that will give to Colorado something tangible in the direction of political betterment. This it is that the State needs, both from an ethical and a business point of view. The disgraceful events in the mining regions a few months ago injured the State more than they did the mine-owners. The political manipulator has been a greater enemy to the commonwealth than the labor agitator. If the campaign being waged with such striking features shall result in an awakening of the better element of Colorado's population and the realization on the part of its farmer citizenship of the power possessed in the ballot for good government, it will not be in vain. The courts of Colorado have been particularly the object of criticism. Probably in no State are judges so freely denounced as there. On more than one occasion the justices of the Supreme bench have been hung in effigy. This distrust of the courts does not tend to inspire respect for the nominees of the leading parties, most of whom are running for re-election. The people feel that there should be a reform in the judiciary as well as in other branches of the government, and their dissatisfaction with some of these nominations may have some bearing on the result of the campaign. On each ticket a woman has been named for Superintendent of Public Instruction—a recognition of the woman

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vote, concerning which much anxiety exists. The contest is not only spectacular but it is bitter in personalities, regardless of the high character of some of the nominees. It is to be hoped that the State will register its vote on the side of honor in government and enter the new era of higher political existence which it so sorely needs.

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The Life Insurance Campaign

Last week the Policyholders' Protective Association, of which James C. Colgate, a banker of this city, is President, in a published statement declared that Mr. Thomas W. Lawson is back of the so-called International Policy-holders' Committee, and that Mr. Samuel W. Untermyer, who is acting as its counsel, is really representing the plans of Mr. Lawson. This gives publicity and the sanction of reputable names to a report which has been current in financial circles in New York City for at least three months past, and is widely credited by men who are well informed on insurance matters. The Policyholders' Protective Association further affirms that the success of the International Committee would put the control of the two great competing life insurance companies, the New York Life and the Mutual Life, into the same hands, and pertinently asks policy-holders in the Mutual to consider the question, "Will our interests be subordinated to those of the New York Life Insurance Company, or will the interests of that company be subordinated to ours?" It is certain that if Mr. Lawson should gain control of either corporation, the interests of the policy-holders would be in the hands of a man whose autobiographical account of his financial transactions shows him to be a very unsafe trustee; and this report, to which we can now refer with propriety, gives emphasis to our counsel to policy-holders in both these companies to keep the present administration in office for another year. It is true that the methods pursued in this campaign by the Mutual Life officers have not been above criticism, and both companies will be, to a certain extent, on trial for the next year. It will be necessary for their officers to be exceedingly scrupulous and frank in every detail of management. But if the administration of either of them should prove to be unsatisfactory, it will be possible in the next annual election to make a less revolutionary and therefore safer change in the Board of Directors.

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The Separation Law in France: Its Disadvantages

Roman Catholics constitute nominally nineteen-twentieths of the French population. According to the Concordat, or agreement of 1801, signed by Napoleon and Pope Pius VII., the French Government has paid to the Roman Catholic clergy their salaries, both as compensation for the Church property confiscated by the French Revolution and in return for the right to approve and nominate clergy for preferment. Napoleon believed that the State would thus always have the upper hand. Upon his fall, however, the Church's influence steadily increased, until, after the establishment of the Third Republic in 1871, resentment arose because of the efforts of certain clericals to restore the monarchy to France, so as to regain the Church's greater influence under that form of government. Gambetta's phrase, "Le clericalisme, voilà l'ennemi," became a proverb. Finally the Dreyfus case showed how thoroughly a few monastic orders had undermined the loyalty of some educational establishments to the Republic, and through them had actually begun to affect the army. Premier Waldeck-Rousseau's bill, passed in 1901, providing that all associations, monastic or otherwise, must be registered by the civil government, resulted in the expulsion from France of numerous recalcitrants. There was also dissatisfaction with certain reactionary prelates. Arbitrary action on the part of the Vatican led to the closing of the French embassy there, and as the Church maintained an uncompromising attitude, the French Government nearly a year ago, entirely ignoring the other party to the contract, abolished the historic Concordat itself. The Government's summary nullification of a time-honored contract deeply offend-

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ed many Roman Catholics, and caused a first and permanent objection to the law thereupon passed, which practically separates Church and State in France. Existing Church property may be continued to be used as such only on condition that after December 11, 1906, it shall be administered by "associations cultuelles," or associations for worship, which are to be composed in communities of less than a thousand inhabitants of at least seven persons, in communities of from one thousand to twenty thousand inhabitants of at least fifteen persons, and in communities of over twenty thousand inhabitants of at least twenty-five persons. The law does not recognize the right of bishops to administer the property of their dioceses in trust, in fee simple, in a corporation or in trusteeship with laymen. This apparent incompatibility with former discipline in France, where the bishop has remained somewhat of a lord temporal as well as spiritual, forms the second objection of Roman Catholics to the new measure. A third lies in the actual despoiling of the Church. Unless "associations cultuelles" are formed, the Church loses the use of its houses of worship, without exception even of buildings for charitable and educational purposes. If the "associations" are formed, they may receive the hundred million dollars' worth of Church property not confiscated by the French Revolution; they may have free use of all churches, provided the buildings are kept in repair; they may receive subscriptions, fees, rents, and endowments. A fourth objection to the law is found in the provision that these "associations" are drastically limited in the acquirement of property and in its administration.

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The Separation Law in France: Its Advantages

Now what are the advantages in the separation law to Roman Catholics in France? First and chiefly, it liberates the Church from an unholy alliance with the State in the matter of preferments. French priests and bishops are, in general, worthy of entire respect, religiously and socially. The best among them and in the Roman Catholic laity were as mortified to be subservient to an increasingly irreligious government as were the best French statesmen at the sight of a large part of the State's resources placed at the service of the Vatican, and thus diverted to a use hardly above suspicion in the minds of a majority of Frenchmen, who recall certain intolerable political interferences by the Roman Curia. While the State gradually withdraws financial support from the clergy, it has instantly and fortunately withdrawn all influence in ecclesiastical appointments. Even the lost wealth may ultimately be more than regained by the Church under these more self-respecting conditions, for the Roman Catholic Church in France should now become for the first time in her history a practically unalloyed spiritual force. While the State's loss of the power to approve and to nominate may possibly be used by the Church to make every new French ecclesiastic a political reactionary, we believe that the welcome freedom of action will be employed by the bishops and the Pope to increase the number, not of the Church's militant knights, but of her spiritual saints. Such freedom ought to double the influence of the real Church party in the French Parliament, and ought to increase in yet larger measure that of the priests outside. Finally, since the law's passage, there has come about a liberty in episcopal gatherings in France unheard of for over a century. Though every one must be impressed by the subtle force of the relations and traditions characterizing the history of the Holy See and "the eldest daughter of the Church," as expressed throughout the whole French social and religious fabric, both Church and State in France would have been stronger, we think, if they had been separated. If this be true of the past, it certainly will be true of the future.

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The Saturday Times Review

When the first number of the Saturday Review of Books, issued by the New York Times, appeared in 1896, many of the leading daily newspapers contained literary departments, usually confined to certain pages and days of the week. The Times saw

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the possibilities of enlarging the scope of this survey of books and literary interests, of printing it in detached form, and of giving it added importance and convenience. The first reviews were written by the regular staff of the paper, and filled eight pages of its present size; the progress of the review, in terms of size, is indicated by the fact that it has been, on occasions, enlarged to fifty-six pages, and that great difficulty is found in keeping it down to its normal size of sixteen pages. Its success has been due to the skill and judgment with which a real demand on the part of an increasing number of readers has been met, and to the general fairness, courtesy, and good judgment with which the review work has been done. One of the foremost citizens of New York in point of character, intelligence, and independence of judgment said, not long before his death, that the Saturday Review was one of the most creditable things in the country. It is certainly one of the most creditable products of American journalism; one of the evidences of a desire to know the best that is being said and done in the world. Its appearance week after week is the best possible proof that there are a large number of men and women who seriously care for the thought and imagination of the world expressed in terms of literature; whose interests are distinctively intellectual; and who are aware that the material side of life, although insistent and pressing at every point, is, after all, of quite secondary value. Under the editorial direction of Mr. Edward A. Ditmar, the Saturday Review presents every week a very adequate survey of literary conditions, and keeps its readers in touch with the intellectual activities of the world, in so far as those activities find literary expression. It deals largely, of necessity and intention, with the news side of literature, and is an excellent example of the sound and important treatment of literature from the journalistic point of view; but it also gives its readers well-considered and sane judgments of books. Its intention is not to present technical, critical reviews, but rather to indicate the value of books as contributions to the information, the inspiration, the recreation, and the education of the men and women of to-day. In the very interesting comments of men and women of literary distinction published in the Review of last week, Mr. James Lane Allen says of that publication, "Both the gravity of its judgments and the freshness of its temper render it a vital force, and the multitude of those who look to it for serious guidance, or from lighter motives, testify alike to its solid character and to its range, its sunniness, its readableness." To this very intelligent and happy characterization little need be added. The Times Review never makes the blunder of confounding censoriousness with criticism, bad temper with independent judgment, and the inward satisfaction of inflicting a wound with the consciousness of speaking the truth in its integrity.

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Adelaide Ristori When they read the announcement of the death of Adelaide Ristori in Rome on Tuesday of last week, many men and women recalled with a quickening of their pulses the extraordinary dignity, pathos, and beauty with which she invested certain great tragic figures years ago. They remembered the thrilling moments when, as Marie Antoinette, she appeared on the balcony in the Tuileries, in response to the cries of the mob, with the little Dauphin beside her. They saw her "moving like a star," as Burke said, in the brilliant court circle, and they saw her moving with queenly dignity to the scaffold. Few women on the stage have been more richly endowed by nature, or have done more by personal character and artistic endeavor to give the drama standing among the great arts. In the minds of Americans especially, she is identified with some of the most exacting parts in dramatic literature—Judith, Marie Antoinette, Medea, Lady Macbeth, Francesca da Rimini, Adrienne Lecouvreur, Lucretia Borgia. She awakened great enthusiasm because of the simplicity and vigor of her methods and her power of interpreting great emotions. Her method was in striking contrast to that of Duse, who alone among the Italian actresses of the time can be compared with her. She had

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more animation and variety than Duse, more natural dignity and elevation than Bernhardt, more restraint and tragic power, though less sensibility, than Ellen Terry. There were effects in dramatic expression which were beyond her, but she must be ranked, by virtue of her vigor, the naturalness of her method, and her power of passion, among the great actresses. In certain respects she was the greatest of her time, capable of reproducing tremendous emotions and of interpreting great natures overshadowed by calamity with a depth of feeling and a dignity of bearing which simulated, if they did not actually realize, greatness. If she lacked somewhat the atmosphere of tenderness with which some women of her genius have been able to invest their personations, she was unsurpassed in the power of diffusing a kind of tragic sadness, of suggesting the fathomless depths of tragic experience, when it comes to men and women of deep capacity for suffering. One of her greatest personations, Marie Antoinette, revealed her personality, her character, and her art at their best; and no more moving and impressive piece of acting has been seen on the stage of our time. Born at Cividale, Italy, in 1826, the child of strolling players, she was already on the stage at the age of four years, and at fourteen she was taking the title rôle in "Francesca da Rimini." Popularity came to her early. She was well taught, made a romantic marriage with a young Italian nobleman at twenty-five, renounced the stage on the birth of her son, returned to it to help an unfortunate manager, and was greeted with such boundless enthusiasm that she found it impossible to remain in private life. On her eightieth birthday she was overwhelmed with honors, gifts, and admiration and affection of all kinds. The King called on her in person, and Rome crowded the commemorative performances in one of the fashionable theaters, Salvini opening the fête by reciting verses in honor of the actress. The Minister of Education ordered a gold medal struck for the occasion, and commemorative performances were given in theaters in all parts of Italy. It may be added, as part of the record of this gifted woman's career, that no woman in private life was more faithful or devoted to her domestic duties, and none more nobly charitable. She refused to receive the large proceeds from the commemorative and benefit performances held in the theaters throughout Italy on her eightieth birthday, and the money, at her request, was invested in a fund for the benefit of destitute and invalid members of her own profession.

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White Slaves A recent investigation conducted by a committee representing eighteen College Settlements, and reported in Charities for October 6, exhibits an appalling amount of oppression in the city of New York. More than 130,000 women are working in more than 39,000 city factories. Here are some specimens: A bindery working its hands seventy-eight hours a week; a brass bedstead factory seventy-five hours; a laundry seventy hours; a delicatessen factory sixty-nine. A candy factory last winter worked them seventy-one hours a week, with half an hour off for dinner and none for supper except on Saturday. The makers of misses' and children's fine dresses during the rush season work sixty-seven hours a week, "then take their work home and toil till eleven at night." Refusal to work overtime is checked by fear of discharge. All this, and vastly more, in face of the law forbidding more than sixty hours' work per week, and work between 9 P.M. and 6 A.M. The latter provision has been temporarily set aside by a local court undertaking to deny the principle underlying the factory legislation of an entire century, and affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States—that the State may interfere where the contracting parties are not on an equality, or where public health requires that a party shall be protected against himself. The sixty-hour limit remains nominally in full force. But last winter the Factory Department stated, "It is impossible even to estimate the number of offenders, but I would place them between 5,000 and 10,000 in this city." The advantage is all on the side of those who are determined to beat the law. Inspectors ac-

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complish nothing. No employers have been convicted and fined. The testimony of overworked employees is required to prove violation of the law, and to give it means discharge. It cannot be had from those in the dilemma of work or starve. But what of the factories in which this overwork of women goes on? "Many," says the investigating committee, "are as badly built, as dark, unsanitary, and unwholesome as the worst tenement." A twine factory is mentioned. The workers had just come out at noon "covered from head to foot with fibrous dust." The air within was dust-filled; "the fiber of hemp gathered rapidly on our clothing." Is it any wonder that the white plague of tuberculosis attacks the white slave? By organized effort workingmen have largely gained an eight-hour work-day. Working women and girls, less able to organize for self-protection, need, if they are to fulfill the functions of motherhood, to be protected against the exploitation of their physical and mental life by a greedy and inhuman industrialism. The churches should actively espouse their cause by awakening an energetic public sentiment in its behalf. Such a public sentiment was effective last year in the matter of life insurance. This also is for a sort of life insurance more urgently needed, and not only in the city and State of New York.

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Noise in Cities

In addressing the Society of Medical Jurisprudence in New York a few days ago, Dr. Darlington, Health Commissioner of the Port of New York, said some things worth considering on the subject of "Noises and their Control," a topic of great interest in all parts of the world. It is the habit of those uncritical people whose knowledge of American conditions is equaled only by their ignorance of foreign conditions to speak of noises as if they were the special characteristic of the American city. As a matter of fact, all cities are noisy, and none more so than those on the Continent and the small cities in England. This is also true of the cities of the Far East, the bazaars of which hum with sound which sometimes rises into the most discordant and piercing tones. The "central roar" of London seems to have a quality of its own by reason of a certain massive monotony of sound. In Paris the noises are staccato and pierce the ear; in Italian cities the quiet of the evening is broken by a passionate intensity of talk which the uninitiated take as preliminary to violent altercations, but which simply means that the men at the tables on the sidewalks are talking about the crops or the weather. The old towns of Germany, like those in England, retain many of their mediæval habits; and nothing about mediæval town life was more characteristic than extreme neighborliness, the people pouring into the streets on all occasions and filling them with loud talk, shouts of laughter or of anger. There are, nevertheless, certain new noises in modern life which are especially trying, and among these must be counted the steam whistles, motor vehicles of all kinds, and the electric car. Dr. Darlington recognizes the fact that some of these sounds are apparently unavoidable; he also recognizes the fact that many of these noises are illegal, and might be suppressed if popular sentiment demanded their suppression. The emphasis of Dr. Darlington's address rested on the statement that the only hope of making modern cities more tolerable to the ear is by the creation of popular sentiment against the continuance of unnecessary noises and in favor of the enforcement of existing laws. The New York Tribune quotes Dr. Hyslop, the eminent London alienist, as saying recently that city noises are a leading cause of brain disorders. There is no question that they contribute to nervous unrest and irritability, and that the mischief goes on while men sleep as well as while they are awake. Both the Health Board and the Police Department have sufficient authority to lead the way; and while, in this country at least, very few reforms are set in motion until public sentiment has been aroused, the lack of public sentiment cannot be regarded as excuse by either of those Boards for the failure to perform their present duty.

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Which?

The most important question now before the American people is, Shall the corporations control the State, or the State the corporations? Are the money kings sovereign, or are the people? Two men ask the suffrage of the people of the State of New York. Both claim to believe that the State should control the great corporations. Elsewhere in this issue we give our readers detailed character studies of these two men. Which of these men has the better claim for support by believers in Industrial Democracy?

The personal character of one is above reproach; the personal character of the other is by no one respected.

One is earning his living by his personal industry; the other is a multi-millionaire by inheritance.

One has driven dishonest magnates from the head of great corporations and compelled the reorganization of the corporations on democratic principles; the other is the head of a corporation which he has used to evade taxes and escape personal responsibility.

One has helped drive from control a political boss who represented corporate interests; the other owes his nomination to a boss who is the servant of corrupt corporations.

One is not accused by his bitterest enemies of bribery; the other is charged with wholesale bribery by responsible accusers.

One received his nomination unsought, from an unbossed Convention; the other from a Convention in which a majority of the delegates voted as they were bid by their bosses.

One represents the best elements in his party after the worst elements had been driven from control; the other, the worst elements in his party after the better elements had been cheated out of their legitimate authority.

Which of these two men is more likely to drive the corrupt boss from government and the corrupt manager from the corporation, and make both government and corporation serve the cause of the common people? That is the question for the voters in New York State to answer at the polls on the sixth of next November.

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The Spirit of the New World

If there is any man who, on reading Mr. Root's speech at Rio de Janeiro, is not filled with pride in his country and in the really great constructive statesmen to whom its soil and its institutions have given birth, it is because that man is totally incapable of appreciating the splendors of a democratic and neighborly form of government. We have in Russia to-day uniforms, fêtes, pomp, insignia, titles, and that which is called nobility. But what a government and what a life for those whom Lincoln called in love the Common People! Mr. Root's long journey encircling the continent of South America and the address which he made interpreting the true spirit of democracy illustrate in an epoch-marking way that at the bottom of all really successful government and really true national life lies what so many of us make the mistake of calling a commonplace virtue—neighborliness.

In some quarters the New Testament is a little out of fashion to-day. Its precepts are considered tolerably useful for women and children, and for primitive communities having little to do with the world, but impossible of practical application for men of affairs who have empires to create, States to govern, cities to administer, or large industrial and commercial enterprises to conduct. But if Mr. Root's continental journey—a journey which, in our estimation, is likely to have a historic influence upon the whole civilized world—does not illustrate the second greatest commandment of Christendom, we have misread and misunderstood the sermons of the divinest preacher the world has ever known. "Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

On these two commandments hang all

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empires and all civilizations. No politics, no diplomacy, no commerce, can permanently endure that is not based on righteousness, justice, and neighborliness. To deal successfully with Mexico, South America, Cuba, and the Philippines, the United States must be not only great, but a great neighbor. It is because Mr. Root believes this, has expressed it simply and naturally in his relations with the diplomatic circle at Washington, manifested it in visiting the South Americans, and put it into words in a speech the simplicity, brevity, and human sympathy of which recall Lincoln's Gettysburg address, that he has done more to bring South and North America together in a mutual understanding and sympathy than years of formal diplomatic negotiations and dozens of complicated treaties could possibly do.

Hitherto there has been a persistent lack of social, diplomatic, political, and commercial understanding between North and South Americans. Differences of climate, race, language, manners, and customs have been hard either to understand or to overcome. Diplomatically and politically the situation has been colored by the rapidly growing power of the United States in the world. While in the face of a common danger, the Latin-American republics welcomed this power as a protection from possible peril to themselves of conquest on the part of European nations. There was below it all, however, the suspicion that our attitude toward them was not one of an unselfish neighbor desiring to protect a weaker one, but that of an arrogant neighbor aiming to exact benefits from a weaker one. At the time of the Spanish War this suspicion grew, and it was widely supposed in South America that our Government had embarked upon a campaign of conquest which indeed might possibly result in the absorption of the whole Western Hemisphere. Of this conquest Porto Rico and Panama were supposed to be the first-fruits. The other States would then follow.

This was the condition of feeling to allay and correct which Mr. Root's great journey was undertaken. A reference to the map and a careful reading of the address, both of which appear elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook, cannot fail to impress the reader with the magnitude of Mr. Root's task and with the splendid success with which he has achieved it.

And if this country fails to take to heart for its own guidance the sound and inspiring advice which Mr. Root has given to our South American neighbors, it will make a deplorable mistake. For, as Mr. Root has said, "a people whose minds are not open to the lesson of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance."

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Honesty in the Ministry

In renewing my subscription to your paper, permit me to express my high appreciation of its character during the past year. However, its attitude in the Crapsey case has seemed to me most immoral, and not such as I care to have commended to my family. I do not know by what species of casuistry it can be reasoned that honesty, honor, and truthfulness are necessary in business relations, but may be dispensed with in the higher walks of life, or that a man's oath in court is important, but of no account in the Church. C. D. A.

If there is any difference, the standards of honesty, honor, and truthfulness should be higher in the Church than in business relations, and the minister should be more scrupulous in his conformity to those standards. It is impossible for The Outlook to express too strongly this conviction. We are afraid, also, that it will be impossible for us to make our correspondent see why we think that standard requires the Protestant minister to oppose errors in his Church. We may not succeed in giving him our point of view, but we may make his letter an occasion for giving that point of view to others.

The Roman Catholic doctrine respecting the relative authority of the Church creeds and of the Holy Scriptures is thus explicitly stated in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., which is a recognized authoritative symbol of the Roman Catholic Church:

I I most steadfastly admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions,

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and all other observances and constitutions of the Church.

II. I also admit the Sacred Scriptures according to that sense which the Holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to whom it appertains to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

Luther, and, following him, the Reformers, took direct issue with the Roman Catholic Church on this subject. Luther's fundamental doctrine was that the authority of the Bible is above that of all Church creeds and traditions, and as it is a book for the individual, so the individual has a right of private judgment in interpreting it. These were the two fundamental issues joined between the Roman Catholic Church and Luther. What is the final standard? Rome said the Church; Luther said the Bible. How shall the Bible be interpreted? Rome said by the Church; Luther said by each individual for himself. This Lutheran doctrine has been embodied in all the great Protestant creeds. It is thus expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

The same fundamental principle is expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith: "The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men."

Every Roman Catholic minister by his ordination vows pledges himself to accept the creeds and traditions of the Church and to interpret the Scripture according to them. Every Protestant minister by his ordination vows pledges himself to accept the Scripture, to teach in accordance with the Scripture, and to oppose whatever appears to his conscience and judgment to be repugnant to the Scripture. He does this impliedly by accepting Protestantism, because this is the essential principle of Protestantism. He does this explicitly by the form of his pledge, as, for example, in the following promises contained in the office for the ordering of priests in the Episcopal Church; the italics are ours:

Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain all Doctrine required as necessary for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined, out of the said Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing as necessary to eternal salvation but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?

Answer. I am so persuaded, and have so determined, by God's grace.

Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away *from the Church* all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word?

Answer. I will, the Lord being my helper.

Nor are these pledges qualified or modified by the pledge "to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ as this Church has received the same." On the contrary, alike the fundamental doctrine of Protestantism as embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles and the other vows of the priest make it clear that the doctrine of the Church is always subject to re-examination in the light of Scripture, which is the only standard.

The Outlook therefore holds that honesty, honor, and truthfulness require every Protestant minister to teach religious truth in accordance with the teachings of the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament; to bring his conscience, his reason, and all the resources of scholarship available to the interpretation of those Scriptures; to teach nothing, however it may be enshrined in Church traditions, which he thinks contrary to those Scriptures; to oppose everything, however sanctioned by ecclesiastical authorities or Church traditions, which he thinks contrary to the essential spirit of those Scriptures. This is more than his liberty; it is his sacred duty.

The question how far a minister may use in public worship a liturgy which expresses or implies convictions which he thinks unscriptural is another question, which we here do not discuss. It is a question which concerns only minis-

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ters of Churches which are bound to the use of liturgical forms of worship. In *teaching*, all Protestant ministers are bound by their primary obligation to the creeds and traditions of their Church only so far as in their judgment those creeds and traditions conform to the teaching of Scripture.

THE HAYSTACK MEETING

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth.

THESE lines of Kipling would have been an appropriate motto to hang over the platform of the Haystack meetings, for they embody the spirit of modern missions. At times the militant note was struck—paganism an enemy, the church an army, missions a campaign, the battle-song "Onward, Christian Soldiers;" but that was not the dominant note of the meeting; it is not the dominant note of modern missions. Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall in his East Indian lectures has truly interpreted the modern spirit. Missions are the meeting of East and West face to face, in mutual respect—all vice and all superstition a common enemy, all goodness and all truth a common inheritance, and a better understanding of the All-Father a common aspiration.

A hundred years ago five young men, met for prayer in a maple grove, were driven by a thunder-storm to seek shelter in a haystack, and there formed a resolution to organize a movement to carry Christianity to the heathen world. Out of that beginning has grown the whole modern missionary movement in America. The centennial anniversary of this occasion was celebrated by a four days' meeting at North Adams and Williamstown under the auspices of the (Congregational) American Board. The most picturesque feature was the out-of-door meeting in the field where the original Haystack prayer-meeting had been held. The rain which fell intermittently throughout the week ceased, the clouds which hung dark and lowering without intermission cleared away, the sun came out, and a congregation of a thousand gathered on the sloping hillside in the only memorial service of the week. Impressive had been the morning service in the new and beautiful college church, with its un-Puritan chancel, reading-desk, and pulpit, its vested male choir, and its ecclesiastical dignitaries in the robes of their office—but not so impressive as the simpler afternoon service, with the cloud-frescoes in the blue dome above, the sober-hued hills about, the clear sunshine in lieu of the softened light of the cathedral windows, and the great congregation in their song drowning the note of the cornet which professed to lead them.

But even this meeting was prophetic, not historical. The main address, delivered by Dr. A. J. Brown, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board, was on "The Work of Missions for the Next Hundred Years." This was characteristic of all the sessions. These men were too much absorbed in the work they had to do to spend any time in gratulation over the work that had been done. There was no historical address. There were references to the Haystack Meeting, and to Samuel J. Mills's motto, "We can if we will," but no account of that meeting and no attempted panoramic picture of what had grown out of it. The faces of speakers and audiences alike were turned to the future, and any portrayal of the achievements of the past would have received but scant attention.

This keynote was struck in the opening address at Williamstown on Wednesday morning by President Hyde, of Bowdoin College, in a contrast between the old and the new theological premises of the missionary movement. The contrast was concisely but not, as he apologetically affirmed, "roughly drawn."

A hundred years ago God was a judge; the Bible a statute-book; earth a court-

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room; man a prisoner at the bar; Christ our advocate; the cross of Christ the price of our release; death the end of the trial; and eternity the duration of the sentence. . . . Our premises to-day are very different. . . . God is our Father-friend; man his pupil-child; earth a home-school; the Bible a series of letter-lessons; sin the unfilial, unbrotherly attitude; Christ our Brother-teacher; the cross of Christ is the price he paid, and we must pay, for living the filial and brotherly life in a world of selfishness and hate; hell is self-exclusion from the rightful place in the Father's heart and home; heaven is the joy of fellowship with Christ and all true Christians in the service of God and our fellow-men, here and everywhere, now and evermore.

This clue was followed by Dr. Brown in the afternoon, in an address which should suffice to convince even the most skeptical that the Church has in her service some men as statesmanlike as any who are serving the State. He showed that conditions abroad have changed not less than at home. The pagan world is as cosmopolitan as the Christian world. "The new Chinese Presbyterian Church at Weihsen typifies the elements that are entering Asia, for it contains Chinese brick, Oregon fir beams, German steel binding plates and rods, Belgian glass, Manchurian pine pews, and British cement." While thus the East is getting acquainted with the West, the West is getting acquainted with the East. "No man to-day despises the Japanese, at any rate not the Russian; and we hear more of the industry of the Chinese and the intellect of the Hindu." "We are no longer under illusions as to what the heathen are, and the heathen are no longer under illusions as to what we are." These changed conditions require new methods and a new attitude. Missions are no more to be regarded as a romantic crusade, but as a part of the same work which we pursue at home to promote the higher and better life: our business, not to send American evangelists everywhere, but to give the conception of essential Christianity to a foreign people and leave them to propagate it—"to plant Christianity and help it get started, and then educate it to take care of itself." Therefore our missionary work must be less sectarian and more broadly Christian. We may use denominational machinery, but not to make denominational Christians. "In India," said Dr. Brown, "I met a swarthy native who knew just enough English to be able to tell me that he was a Scotch Presbyterian"—this as an illustration of how not to do it. Dr. Brown certainly interpreted the spirit of the Haystack Meeting, and I hope that he interpreted the spirit of all Protestant Missionary Boards, in saying, "Let the Asiatics accept Christ for themselves and develop for themselves the methods and institutions that result from his teaching."

The same spirit of frank recognition of changed conditions found expression in the very remarkable paper of President King, of Oberlin, on "The Changes of a Hundred Years in Missionary Theory and Practice," in which he made what was to me a new contribution to theological thought in tracing the changes in an understanding of Christian truth and life at home to effects produced on modern thought by what he called the laboratory work pursued abroad. We have not only found out what man is by going to him as a friend and a helper, but we have found out what Christianity is by employing it in helping our brother man. The same spirit received another expression in the eloquent figure of Dr. Bissell, of India, whose portrayal of East Indian life in all its strange contrasts was Kiplingesque in its picturesqueness. In a great forest, he said, are many trees—some gnarled and misformed, some fallen, some in decay, some dwarfed, some growing but still immature, and among them one monarch that towers above them all: but they all grow out of the same soil and are watered by the same rains and live in the same sunlight. Such are the world religions: the monarch is Christianity.

I wish that some of my friends who do not believe in foreign missions could have been there and have consented to lay aside for three days their prejudgment and listen to the evidence before them with an open mind, as an honest juryman will do when even a suspect is before him on trial. Doubtless such a one would have heard some things to which he would take exception. But—Does the skeptic imagine that the Foreign

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Missionary Movement is inspired by denominational zeal? He would scarcely have heard Congregationalists or Congregationalism mentioned even once, nor ever an appeal for the "Board" or the "cause," but only for humanity. Does the skeptic think this is a proselyting crusade, to make out of East Indian natives mongrel New Englanders? He would have listened with a sorrowful heart as Dr. Bissell pictured India swept by a plague or a famine, and her ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-cared-for people endeavoring to escape by placating the wrath of the superhuman power, and he could hardly have denied sympathy to Dr. Bissell in his endeavor to give them a little food, and a little medicine, and a little knowledge of those beneficent laws of God which bring to those who know and obey them health and harvests for the body, and hope and courage for the heart. Does the skeptic imagine that the missionary with a beam in his own eye is attempting, with an air of superiority, to extract the mote from a neighbor's eye? He would, at least for the hour, have found himself in fellowship with Dr. Zwemer's frank praise of all that is good in Mohammedanism, and his earnest desire to supplement it with what is better in Christianity. Does the skeptic resent missions as an attempt to impose on another people a religious faith which is foreign to their thought and ill adapted to their need? He would pause when he heard the Secretary of the Missionary Board of one of the most conservative Churches in the country say that we wish to leave the heathen to work out for themselves their own institutional forms of the new life of faith and hope and love which he brings to them; and when he heard one native Christian after another, from China, India, Africa, and the islands of the sea, say, in the expressive phrase of one of them, "Finite words are inadequate to express our infinite gratitude for what you have given to our people." Has the skeptic heard that converts come into the missionary churches only for the loaves and fishes? Perhaps he would give that accusation less credit when he learned that the Chinese Christians last year contributed out of their meager incomes $200,000 to Christian work in China, and that, taking a day's wage as a standard of values, this was equivalent to a million dollars contributed by American Christians. Has the skeptic been told that only the poorest and the most ignorant in heathen lands are ever touched by Christianity? He would at least have to think what is signified by the facts that in Arabia Mohammedans with intelligence enough to read and money enough to buy are purchasing the Gospels in large numbers, that the Viceroy of the capital province in China has recently published a volume on Christianity in China in which he "discusses the history of the entrance of Christianity into that country with tolerable accuracy, and, what is most significant of all, with unconcealed sympathy," and that a Brahman of high caste and high standing, while still a Brahman, has written commentaries on two of the Gospels in order to let men of his own class know something about the Oriental Christ.

Whoever believes in social settlement work ought to believe in Christian missions, for Christian missions are simply social settlement work on a great scale, in which men and women carry with them into the dwelling-places of the poor and the sorrowful that gift of personal life which is the secret of all lasting welfare, giving themselves to their fellowmen and therewith giving food for famine, health for pestilence, knowledge for ignorance, hope for despair, brotherhood for caste, and the love of a good God for a perpetual dread of gods of implacable wrath or of merely selfish or careless power.

These spiritual aspects of the Haystack Meeting interested me so much that I forgot to mention what will, I suppose, appear to some to be the most important incidents of the meeting, that it was opened with the announcement that the debt had been paid, and that afterward a thank-offering of $13,000 was contributed on the very ground where the first Haystack prayer-meeting was held.

L. A.

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WHICH?

We print below character studies of the Democratic and Republican candidates for the Governorship of the State of New York.

"What is the cause of Hearst?" This is the question asked in this campaign more frequently than any other. Men propound it in much the same spirit of bewilderment that they inquire into the cause of an excessively cold winter, an outbreak of cholera in Hamburg, an earthquake at San Francisco. These can all be accounted for because similar events have been studied by scientists, and traced to accepted causes. But there has been nothing like the "Hearst movement" in American politics. It stands alone in history, and it is very real. As his is largely a newspaper campaign and no amount of money could be expended to bring about such a condition without the accompanying use of printers' ink, it is only in the newspaper office that this singular propaganda can be fully understood in all its intricate details. The article on Mr. Hearst has been prepared without malice by a newspaper man of experience in political work, the Washington correspondent of an influential New York daily paper, who has rather closely studied the advance of the "Hearst movement" since its inception. The character study of Mr. Hughes has been written also by a well-known journalist, the Albany correspondent of a great New York newspaper. Our readers may rely on the accuracy of the facts stated and on the intimate acquaintance of the authors with their subjects.—THE EDITORS.

WILLIAM R. HEARST

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

WILLIAM R. HEARST is the central figure of the "Hearst movement." He is a man about forty-three years old. He is amiable, gentle, and soft-voiced. He never drinks. He has a long face that lends itself easily to caricatures of vacuity and cupidity. He is generous to his favorite employees, to one of whom he pays a salary said to be almost equal to that of the President of the United States. He has a large personal following. If he has any warm personal friends who are devoted to him for himself alone, it is not generally known. He probably has more bitter enemies than any man in political life to-day. He boasts that he speaks daily to an audience of eight million persons through his newspapers. He has exposed a great many wrongs; he has done much good, and undoubtedly considerable evil in accomplishing it. He has always given himself the credit. If he is public-spirited for the sake of doing good for the good alone, he has not shown it. His friends depict him as a dominating, terrible, uncompromising figure, bent on scourging the wicked from power and influence, and bringing about the equality of man. His opponents regard him as a young man with an enormous inherited fortune, obviously believing strongly in no principles, possessing no known qualifications for office and neglecting the one to which he was elected, endowed with no strong characteristics beyond self-exploitation, widely known through his own efforts as an opponent of bosses and public wrong-doers, yet a candidate for the highest office in the land, who depended upon the use of money, expended in various lavish ways, to attain his ambition.

It is well to consider Mr. Hearst first in his capacity as an editor and second as a candidate. He probably had no thought of becoming a candidate when he appeared in New York City in 1895 as the new proprietor of the old New York Morning Journal. When his father, a United States Senator and many times millionaire, died, he left his estate to his widow, a most estimable and amiable woman. It was to rest with her how the son was to be provided for. The son went to Harvard, and the best that can be said of him is that he did not acquit himself very well. He was a special student, and left college before he was

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graduated. He led a life of looseness and extravagance in San Francisco, but he acquired control of the San Francisco Examiner and made it one of the best-known newspapers in the country. Immediately on reaching New York he introduced the yellowest journalism the city has ever known. He revolutionized the newspaper business. The public is the best judge of the effect of that revolution on the tone of journalism. It has been said that when some one told him that his New York venture would cost a million a year, he replied that he could stand that for twenty years. There was nothing too difficult, nothing too daring, for Mr. Hearst to attempt as a feat of newspaper enterprise. He firmly believes that he brought on the Spanish War and freed Cuba. Whether it was a Spanish maiden to be rescued from Morro Castle, an ice trust to be prosecuted, or a water monopoly to be crushed, the Journal was always on hand ready to attempt the work and increase the circulation.

All this is preliminary to the "Hearst movement." It began before the defeat of William J. Bryan a second time for the Presidency. The Journal had become a very widely circulated paper; an evening edition had been started, and it paid from the start. Exactly when the movement to make Mr. Hearst President began it would be difficult to say. It came like an insidious disease. The first signs that were noticed appeared when the League of Democratic Clubs was formed to aid the candidacy of Bryan. This League was an auxiliary to the Democratic National Committee. There had previously been covert mention of Mr. Hearst as a candidate for various high offices. The league of clubs was formed by Mr. Hearst; the active agent was his city editor; Democratic clubs sprang up like mushrooms all over the country. There was a great deal of exploitation of the work the Journal was doing, but instead of the Journal being given the exclusive credit, praise was lavishly bestowed upon Mr. Hearst by his own paper. He was no longer William R. Hearst; he was William Randolph Hearst.

He was first elected President of the New York State League Club. Then he was elected President of the National League of Clubs. In this connection an incident related by a man personally cognizant of the facts will be of interest as showing the starting-point and the development of a candidate. Mr. Hearst at this time had been the editor of great newspapers for fourteen years, telling the public its duty and presuming to guide his readers. His manner of life had been a matter of concern to those interested in him politically. When the Convention assembled, stories that were not creditable to Mr. Hearst were in circulation, and it was said that he would not appear at the Convention. He was brought to the telephone, and one of the most prominent Democrats in the country told him that he must attend the Convention if he was going to accept the presidency of the League, or the scandalous stories would be believed. "I will not go if I have to make a speech," said Mr. Hearst. Still he was elected, and one of the speakers averred that all the expenses of the League had been borne by Hearst. From this time open efforts were made to give Mr. Hearst prominence as a political leader rather than as an editor. His papers became the most bitter opponents of the McKinley administration. He posed as the great exponent of Jeffersonian Democracy. He made fervid appeals to party regularity. A Chicago newspaper was added to the journalistic ventures, to be followed by other newspapers in Boston and Los Angeles. Wherever it was possible, William Randolph Hearst, the friend of the workingman, was advertised.

What happened at this time was that Mr. Hearst gathered around him four men who formed a sort of exploitation syndicate to conduct the work of making him President. These men were Arthur Brisbane, the editor of his papers; Max F. Ihmsen, his political manager; S. S. Carvalho, his business manager; and Clarence J. Shearn, his attorney. Of course there were others. Every employee of Hearst became a part of the machine, but these four men were the managers, each working in his own field.

The inception of the "Hearst movement" was, no doubt, in the brain of Mr. Brisbane. He is a man of great force. It has been said of him that he writes all

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the editorials that have made the name of William R. Hearst a household word among the laboring classes. It has been said that he writes most of Mr. Hearst's speeches. Mr. Hearst is not a fluent writer nor a successful extemporaneous orator. But those who attribute to Mr. Brisbane the thundering of the Hearst candidacy have not yet gone far enough in their inquiry into the inspiration of this candidacy. Mr. Brisbane is the son of Albert Brisbane, a wealthy New Yorker who for many years was the foremost exponent in this country of the doctrines of François Marie Charles Fourier. He became a most enthusiastic advocate of Fourierism. This is a complete change from existing conditions—the grouping of the world into families of phalansteries. The idea of Fourier was to group several hundred families into a phalanx, united for community of property, community of work, community of recompense—pure Socialism. The elder Brisbane was educated abroad and embraced the theories of Fourier, who lived and wrote through the revolutionary period of France from 1772 to 1837. Albert Brisbane was an ardent spirit, and as such endeavored to have the exact Fourier scheme adopted by Brook Farm, and he was an intimate friend of those gentle social experimentalists of threescore years ago. He broke with most of his friends because they would not accept his ideas, and abandoned Brook Farm to its fate after his unsuccessful efforts to have Fourierism adopted in its entirety.

Arthur Brisbane, the son, imbibed his father's socialistic teachings. He was educated at the Sorbonne in Paris, that hotbed of advanced philosophy, and he has been a strenuous advocate of changed conditions for man. The conclusion is irresistible that when Mr. Brisbane entered the employment of Mr. Hearst, he found a man whom he could advance while serving his own impulses, inherited from his gifted and dreamy father, and further developed by his own education abroad. Through many of Mr. Brisbane's editorials runs this thread of Socialism. He has been an exponent of the Government ownership of railways. It was he who induced David B. Hill to insert into the State Democratic platform in 1902 the plank declaring in favor of the ownership of the anthracite coal fields by the Government. Viewed in this light, the "Hearst movement," with a social revolution, in fact, as its goal, becomes intensely interesting. The illustrious father failed; the son is following in his footsteps.

While Mr. Brisbane fixed the policy of the Hearst newspapers which are being used in the "Hearst movement," each of the other members of this collection of managers had his allotted sphere. Mr. Ihmsen, the political manager, was to attend to the practical side of the work. He was the party machinist. He was to create the sentiment among unemotional party workers whom the thunders of the Hearst newspapers had not stirred. He was to get the delegates, create the Hearst clubs, and have men in every State on whom he could call, who in turn could call on men in every county.

Mr. Carvalho, the business manager, had his part. He was to see that business came to the newspapers, that circulation was advanced—that the movement paid its way. He worked to an end which was an innovation in a political campaign—to make it pay as it went along. It is doubtful if there ever was before a movement for the Presidency that paid its way. But no newspaper man of experience has any doubt that the "Hearst movement" has been a financial success, no matter how many defeats it may have suffered at the hands of conventions and electors. The circulation agents have followed the special train.

But there was another novelty in modern politics—the political staff attorney. Mr. Shearn is as much a member of Mr. Hearst's newspaper-political organization as Mr. Brisbane or Mr. Ihmsen or Mr. Carvalho. He has attended to all the suits brought to the destruction of the trusts. He filed a bill against the railways engaged in carrying anthracite coal, alleging a monopoly. His suit was finally taken up by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and a decision is soon expected. Mr. Shearn's duty was also to draft bills for the correction of various public wrongs, which the candidate was to introduce into Congress—

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bills for the relief of labor, for the regulation of railway rates, for a dozen and one things were introduced by Representative Hearst. When he was asked to appear before a committee and explain a bill, he was accompanied by Mr. Shearn, who did the talking, and the Hearst newspapers the next day blazed with the name of Hearst. With all his bills introduced, Mr. Hearst would flit from Washington and Congress would see him no more that session.

These were the men who, in vulgar parlance, were to "produce the goods." Each has done his part with zeal, and Mr. Hearst has paid the bills and the salaries. Mr. Hearst has now been through three hotly contested campaigns and is in the midst of his fourth. They have all been conducted by virtue of the coercive power of his newspapers. He has become the most tremendous power that ever engaged in political strife. Without his newspapers and without a credulous and impressive public, he would never have been heard of. The idea has always been to impress the voter that Hearst is his friend. Eighty-cent gas was obtained by Hearst; no one tells it oftener than Hearst. That is only an incident. He has done many other things, but all of them have been done for the advancement of the "Hearst movement." When the eruption of Vesuvius brought havoc to human life and property, Mr. Hearst was the first to send relief. He contributed his own money and collected funds. He sent to Italy, to distribute the money, Judge Palmieri, of this city, one of his local managers. This was done with much exploitation and many cabled thanks, all lavishly described in the Journal; and when Judge Palmieri returned, he brought with him a large portrait of his Holiness the Pope. Beneath it was inscribed in Italian a message of thanks from the Pope to Hearst, with a blessing. Twice has this portrait appeared in full-page form on the first page of the Hearst newspapers, in the firm belief that it is an effective campaign document. Hearst poses as the great American champion of the maltreated Jews in Russia. During the pending campaign Hearst speakers addressing Hebrew auditors have said that but for such men as Hearst the Jews would be persecuted in America as they are in Russia. Mr. Hearst's press bureau during his present campaign for Governor has made use of the portraits of his wife and son. Press matter praising Mrs. Hearst for her interest in her husband's canvass has been sent out. In this subtle way stories about the life of the candidate for Governor are counteracted. When Hearst was married, the ceremony was performed by Bishop Potter; the most widely circulated three-cent paper was given a "beat" on the event. The chain of Hearst newspapers requires much telegraphing; the most expert operators are employed. Hearst voluntarily increased their pay fifteen cents an hour above the union scale. When the opportune time came for the labor agitation in the present canvass to be "let loose," the Telegraphers' Union adopted resolutions indorsing Hearst. It was done by a trick, in violation of the by-laws requiring notice, and rushed through at the end of a meeting. But the Hearst newspapers were the only ones that knew that the indorsement had been given.

These are just a few side-lights that will serve to show how business, politics, domesticity, and philanthropy march hand in hand in the Hearst movement.

When President McKinley was assassinated, the Hearst newspapers were almost destroyed by public indignation. At that time the candidacy for the Presidency was fairly under way. The Journal had printed many things of a violent character about President McKinley. On one occasion it said, "It [the bullet that killed Goebel] is speeding here [to Washington] to lay McKinley on his bier." It said, "If bad men and bad institutions cannot be gotten rid of without killing them, then killing must be done." The very week in which the assassination occurred, the Journal depicted McKinley as a dancing negro figure in the trust minstrel show led by Mark Hanna. The wave of wrath which swept over the country when it became known that the misguided Czolgosz had been impelled to his act by reading such inflammatory matter threatened the existence of the Hearst newspapers and the "Hearst movement." The Hearst papers

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outdid all others in praise of the dead President. Hearst was burned in effigy in various parts of the country. His papers were excluded from commercial reading-rooms and exchanges. On the day of the funeral there was sanctimoniously printed on the front page of the Journal in spectacular type the favorite hymn of the dead President, "Lead, Kindly Light." The day after the funeral the Journal defended itself. "The sum of the Journal's offenses," it said, "is that it has fought for the people, and against privilege and class pride and class creed and class heartlessness, with more and varied weapons, with more force and talent and enthusiasm, than any other newspaper in the country." Then it turned and rended its most severe newspaper critic in a two-page editorial article telling how that newspaper had attacked President Hayes and President Grant. The New York Journal then by degrees changed its name to the New York American.

With the defeat of Hearst for the Mayoralty last fall, the campaign for Governor, with the second campaign for the Presidency behind it, began. It became the duty of Mr. Ihmsen to organize a new party in New York State, of Mr. Shearn to contest the election of Mr. McClellan, of Mr. Brisbane to paint Hearst as a man cheated out of his rights, and of Mr. Carvalho to increase the circulation and overawe competitors. It was evident that the Democratic party would not accept Mr. Hearst as its candidate for the Presidency unless it was coerced. The Municipal Ownership League of the previous summer was dropped, and the Independence League of the present sprang into life. Men had to be enlisted in every county in the State to work for Hearst for Governor. They were to form the Independence League which was to nominate Hearst in advance. At the same time they were to fight in the regular Democratic primaries for delegates to the regular Democratic Convention. Newspapers were to be coerced to support Hearst. If anybody except Hearst spent money in this effort, the reporters have not learned it. Money was spent in large sums. It is related, as a mere passing incident of the campaign, how the entire receipts of the business office of the Journal, in an emergency, were carried to the Gilsey House headquarters of the League one evening. The capture of the Buffalo Convention through the support of Murphy, and Hearst's silence about the man whom he had mercilessly cartooned and threatened to put into stripes, have figured conspicuously in the present campaign. There is silence about another prominent politician, which has been overlooked. Just before the New York City primaries there was great doubt about what Timothy D. Sullivan would do. He controlled perhaps eight assembly districts out of the thirty-five. His strength, added to that of Mayor McClellan, might control the Tammany delegation against Hearst. Sullivan had promised to stand with the Mayor. Suddenly one morning in September the American appeared with an exposure of Sullivan as a keeper of pool-rooms and a protector of gamblers. He was attacked and cartooned as the dirtiest "crook" in the city. Then there was silence. Sullivan had been bludgeoned into supporting Murphy. Since then there has been silence as to Sullivan, just as there has been silence as to Murphy ever since he and the Mayor quarreled. Gratitude is not a strong point in the "Hearst movement." It is not generally known, but, so far as the writer is aware, the fact is now for the first time published, that Sullivan was the man who gave Hearst his first nomination for Congress. This was in 1902, and the arrangements were made with Mr. Sullivan by one of the agents of the "Hearst movement" in the Occidental Hotel in the Bowery.

Disclosures have been made in the present campaign regarding the "Hearst movement" which would make even Mr. Hearst laugh if he had a sense of humor. The central theme of his campaign has been opposition to "corporations," which is the word used to typify trusts. Mr. Hearst is said actually to be the head of fourteen corporations organized to avoid individual responsibility. When the county committee of the Independence League rejected the Tammany-Hearst judicial ticket, they discovered

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that they were powerless to act, as the governing body was the Board of Directors of the Independence League, incorporated. Hearst has bitterly denounced the newspapers for not treating him fairly. His own newspapers have been manifestly unfair in suppressing (until this week at least) important parts of Mr. Hughes's speeches. Mr. Hearst has even said in one of his speeches that he was opposed to the use of money in politics. He thundered against the suppression of the will of the majority in party matters, but refused to allow the enrolled members of his League to select their own leaders. These are a few of the inconsistencies of Mr. Hearst's position, and yet it is doubtful if any one could convince him that he was inconsistent.

As stated at the outset of this article, Hearst as a political problem is very real. With the conservative sentiment of the party against him, he was able to vote two hundred delegates in the National Convention at St. Louis in 1904. The applause, under the watchful eye of Mr. Ihmsen, lasted longer than for any other candidate. He polled a larger vote when he ran for Congress in 1902 than any man who ever ran for Congress in New York City. In a three-sided contest for the Mayoralty he was officially beaten by McClellan by only about three thousand votes, and received eighty-eight thousand more votes than Ivins. He was powerful enough to take the Democratic Convention at Buffalo by the throat and force it to nominate him. His influence compelled the Democracy of Massachusetts to nominate H. B. Moran for the Governorship, though not sufficient to defeat an indorsement of W. J. Bryan for the Presidency. Through his Maine manager, Dr. Crockett, he defeated McGillicuddy, the Democratic candidate for Congress against Littlefield, in spite of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, for the alleged reason that the Maine delegates would not pledge Hearst the delegates to the next National Convention. He has a following in almost every State, and in most of them men who are fighting in his interest to obtain control of the Democratic organization. Yellow journalism has enabled him to go far in his efforts for the Presidency. Whether he will go further depends upon the result of the election in New York on November 6.

CHARLES E. HUGHES

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

IN the early morning hours before the final session of the last Saratoga Convention a memorable meeting took place in one of the cottages of the United States Hotel. There were present all the practicing bosses of the new Republican régime. For three days these bosses had been striving, each in his turn, to make his puppet Governor. Now, at last, each sat silent, yielding to the quiet declaration of a man who was not a boss, who was attending his second State Convention, who had conceded that he was not even a politician.

"We shall name the strongest man," Herbert Parsons had said; and now the bosses were prepared to surrender. They had seen their candidates grow small; they had listened to the warning voice of the press and the people. The fight was over.

"But I never spoke to this man," said William Barnes, Jr., the boss of Albany, whose letter to an insurance company concerning a "honorarium" for his father had been read before the Armstrong Insurance Committee.

"I never saw him," said George W. Aldridge, boss of Rochester, and chief among the up-State dictators.

"Gentlemen, I have met him—once," came the grim rejoinder of Francis Hendricks, boss of Syracuse, once a Superintendent of Insurance, who also appeared before the insurance inquisition. In such fashion was Charles E. Hughes nominated by a Convention wherein he had not a single instructed delegate, not a partisan politician, only the limitless hostility of the bosses and the boundless confidence of the people.

When a political party—and its bosses

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—departs from all tradition and follows unbeaten pathways, there is certainly an appropriateness in examining the character and the record of the nominee before whose record, reinforced by public demand, even a dominant party machine has bowed. It is true that much of his popular strength rests upon a single feat, the insurance investigation, but there have been other investigations —notably that of the Lexow Committee —and yet no gubernatorial nominee. Other men have been nominated in the face of public demand, but not in a generation has an office so deliberately and insistently sought the man, over the heads of the bosses, as in the case of Hughes, for whom even the President of the United States enlisted as a personal ally.

The thing that one gathers, above all else, from the review of the life history of the man Hughes is the dominant note of work, intelligent, well-directed, self-effacing work; but always work. The boy Hughes was a precocious child; his own admission, reluctantly supplied, to be sure, confirms this. Born in Glens Falls, New York, he began his schooling at Oswego four years later. The story of his youthful revolt against the limitations imposed by the presence of stupid pupils, his determination to study at home, his precocious exploits at mental arithmetic, are already of wide circulation. His mother had been a school-teacher, his father was a clergyman, and the atmosphere of the student was about him. But with the love of work there was also present, even then, the dominant note of the man—devotion to duty. Persuading his parents to let him study at home, he thereafter followed the schedule of hours he had submitted, stood to a crack, and recited his lessons.

For the story of his early years the candidate Hughes manifests unmistakable impatience. Against the over-emphasis of his feats of precocity he has again and again protested.

"But I was human. If I wanted to study at home, it was solely to have more time to play when the studying was over."

Completing his education in the public schools of New York City, Mr. Hughes was ready at thirteen to enter the College of the City of New York, but his youth was against him and admission was denied. He studied at home a year and then went to Colgate, where he promptly disputed with a single rival the primacy in the class. From Colgate he went to Brown University, where he spent three years, years devoted to hard work, but years in which he indignantly denies having been a "grind." Despite this protest, however, the record shows that he achieved honors in English Literature and a Phi Beta Kappa Key. A year later he was teaching in Delhi Academy and studying law at night. Removing to New York, he entered Columbia Law School, was a classmate of District Attorney Jerome, and won recognition as a prize tutor.

After the law school came private practice. Paul D. Cravath, who was his law partner at that time, tells of Hughes then:

"Many nights Hughes and I sat up reading law together, but at two o'clock in the morning I was usually on the sofa, dozing, despite black coffee and wet towels, but Hughes was still reading."

From the practice of the law he went to Cornell as an instructor in the Law School. Of his lectures President Schurman has said:

"Hughes would lecture for three hours, always without a note, citing perhaps a hundred cases, and quoting the opinion verbatim. It is a matter of record, too, that his pupils did not 'cut' his lectures. Nor should one miss the human note amidst all this labor. Apart from his regular hours, Professor Hughes gave up his own time, his own recreation periods, to help the less brilliant, to 'coach' the less proficient, among his pupils. Students who marveled at his scholarship were still able to profit by his friendship. In these days there are many among his strongest supporters whose loyalty dates back to the kindness of their professor."

After his professorship, Mr. Hughes returned to private practice. Of Hughes the lawyer a single incident must suffice. Called into a litigation growing out of great sugar interests, Mr. Hughes was opposed by an imposing array of eminent

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counsel, among them Henry W. Taft. The case Mr. Hughes had to maintain had been declared impossible of proof. It hinged entirely upon a vast mass of figures and statistics. His chief witnesses were two Germans, both of whom had achieved international reputation on the technical side of the business. Mr. Hughes sent for his witnesses. The first spent an hour with him. As the expert came out, he said grimly:

"I will go back and study more. I thought I knew something about the sugar business, but Mr. Hughes just sat there and smiled, and asked me questions I couldn't answer."

"Mr. Hughes knows more about the sugar business than I do," said the other, more simply, after his session. The case was settled when it became apparent that Mr. Hughes could prove it. Such was the quality of the lawyer Hughes. This incident has a certain historical value, for when the Stevens Gas Commission came from Albany to search for a counsel for its legislative investigation, it asked advice from Henry W. Taft.

"Take Hughes," was his single suggestion; "if any one can take you through the maze of technical testimony about the practical business as well as the stock manipulations, it is Hughes." So at last the work began to have its public utility, and eighty-cent gas was the first fruit.

Then came the insurance investigation. The story of that phase needs no amplification. But on the day he became counsel, Mr. Hughes asked and obtained a sheaf of blank subpœnas; henceforth he was the sole judge of who should testify. There was no politics in his public service. One day Senator Platt was called to the stand. Before he left his office this statesman thoughtfully put in his pocket letters from several members of the Committee asking for contributions to their campaigns in former years. Members of the Committee knew of the existence of these letters. Mr. Hughes did not, but no member of the Committee ventured to protest against the calling of Platt. Such was Hughes the investigator—one might almost say the investigation. Day by day, as Senators, ex-Governors, and captains of industry went down before the marvelous skill of the attorney, the public came to see, not the mere lawyer, but the public servant, not the machine marvelous for work, but the man fearless of consequences where a moral issue was involved.

There is one more incident in all this insurance welter worthy of note—an incident that has never been published. Mr. Hughes was the examining attorney. It was agreed that when the herculean task of probing was completed, his task was to end. There were others whose duty it was to mold the report and shape the legislation. But these failed in their task. To Mr. Hughes, weary with the strain of two great investigations, the members of the Committee came.

"You alone can save us—you must write the report." Because he recognized that the results of the whole work were in the scale, Mr. Hughes took up the added burden. The work was done, and the man of exposures and demolition became the man of explanation and construction. A public which was ignorant of these details did not, however, fail to grasp the essential spirit of their servant, and thereafter their voice was heard in the land until the end and the nomination. Politicians might clamor for a declaration on the burning issues of a campaign; the public had fixed upon the personal essentials of a candidate.

As a public servant, then, Mr. Hughes is no mystery, no baffling problem; the office that sought him sought him in the light of universally recognized achievement, plus a public estimation of character. But the man Hughes, the personal equation, this has been less patent.

"I am no wooden Indian," he has retorted to various biographers who have dwelt upon the marvelous side of his achievement. To be sure, the denial is not entirely conclusive. This student, reserved and scholarly in all his tastes, can never be fairly portrayed as "one of the boys." But there is an intensely human side that justifies his plea for mercy. Among the young lawyers downtown there are a dozen who will tell of cases in which, for no other reason than kindness, Mr. Hughes has counseled,

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advised, and guided them. Theirs was the fee and the glory; for him there was only the keen relish in doing a generous act. Reserved he may be, but underlying this there is assuredly a human side.

In his own office are preserved many little legends of the kindness of the "chief." Inflexible so far as the rules and regulations of the firm are concerned, the inflexibility has its lighter side. Since he has become a public figure there have been many stories of instances in which he has found time to inquire into the condition of his office boys. More than one check for a winter overcoat or some other necessity has come from him, through the impersonal medium of his managing clerk—for the source of the benefaction has ever been concealed. His reserve has never kept aloof from a knowledge of the needs of his subordinates, and their loyalty to him is testimony to the human side of the man.

There is one more circumstance that has significance. Mr. Hughes was in Europe when ex-Governor Odell, then in the midst of a desperate political struggle, proclaimed Hughes his candidate for Governor, and even went so far as to hint that he had assurances from Hughes himself. In the midst of all this Mr. Hughes returned from Europe. Instantly from all sides interested persons began to urge him to declare himself out of the race.

"You will lose all public esteem otherwise," these selfish politicians proclaimed. But in the face of clamor Mr. Hughes remained silent. Even his friends marveled at the man. They knew that he was, comparatively speaking, a poor man. They recognized that all his tastes lay in the direction of the law and away from the stump; they understood that, in view of his insurance exploits, his practice had become immensely lucrative. Still, beyond denying that he had given any assurances, Mr. Hughes remained silent. To his friends, however, he stated the case simply.

"I do not desire office; I am not a candidate; any man who knows me knows that. But, in the present emergency, to declare myself out of the field would be to put myself forever beyond the possibility of rendering a public service, if the peculiar conditions now prevailing should later lead that way." So Mr. Hughes accepted abuse in silence. Of the soundness of his position, present conditions are the best evidence.

Standing on the platform at Lyons last week, speaking to hundreds of thoughtful, earnest country voters, and speaking with a sincerity that roused their cheers, Mr. Hughes himself summed up the quality and the character of his own candidacy and answered the unique political riddle which his presence in the political world has propounded. He said:

"I have said, and I repeat it, in no boastful spirit, but because you are entitled to have me say it, and I think you will know that I believe it, had I not believed that it was the honest desire of the people of this State for me to accept the nomination for Governor, I would not have accepted it. You are entitled to have me say, and I am glad to be able to say unreservedly, that I have no political obligations to any person or thing; and as much as I feel the responsibility that is to be assumed, I can look you in the eye and tell you that it will be assumed with the sole desire and the sole purpose to serve your interests."

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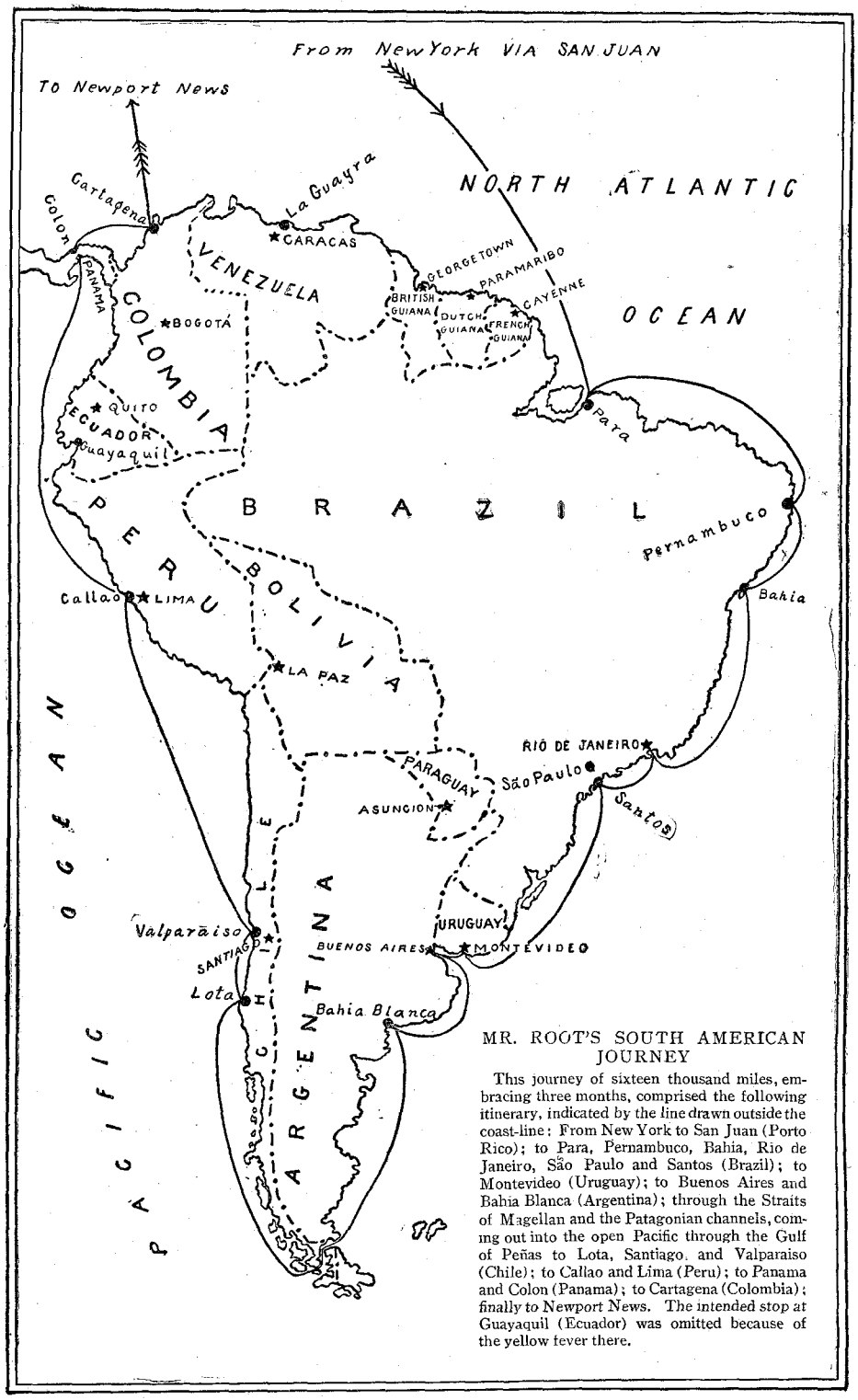

MR. ROOT'S SOUTH AMERICAN JOURNEY

This journey of sixteen thousand miles, embracing three months, comprised the following itinerary, indicated by the line drawn outside the coast-line: From New York to San Juan (Porto Rico); to Para, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Santos (Brazil); to Montevideo (Uruguay); to Buenos Aires and Bahia Blanca (Argentina); through the Straits of Magellan and the Patagonian channels, coming out into the open Pacific through the Gulf of Peñas to Lota, Santiago, and Valparaiso (Chile); to Callao and Lima (Peru); to Panama and Colon (Panama); to Cartagena (Colombia); finally to Newport News. The intended stop at Guayaquil (Ecuador) was omitted because of the yellow fever there.

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THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT

AN ADDRESS BY THE HON. ELIHU ROOT

Secretary of State

During his recent South American trip of sixteen thousand miles, occupying three months, Mr. Root's principal address was made before the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro. The circumstances attending the delivery of this address have already been described by The Outlook's special correspondent in South America, Mr. Sylvester Baxter. By Mr. Root's courtesy and with his authority The Outlook is enabled to print the full text of his address, hitherto unpublished, which thus for the first time reaches American readers. Editorial comment on Mr. Root's trip will be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.

MR. PRESIDENT and Gentlemen of the Third Conference of American Republics:

I beg you to believe that I highly appreciate and thank you for the honor you do me.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sisters in the civilization of America.

Unlike as we are in many respects, we are alike in this—that we are all engaged, under new conditions, and free from the traditional forms and limitations of the Old World, in working out the same problem of popular self-government.

It is a difficult and laborious task for each of us. Not in one generation nor in one century can the effective control of a superior sovereign, so long deemed necessary to government, be rejected, and effective self-control by the governed be perfected in its place. The first-fruits of democracy are many of them crude and unlovely; its mistakes are many, its partial failures many, its sins not few. Capacity for self-government does not come to man by nature. It is an art to be learned, and it is also an expression of character to be developed among all the thousands of men who exercise popular sovereignty.

To reach the goal towards which we are pressing forward, the governing multitude must first acquire knowledge that comes from universal education, wisdom that follows practical experience, personal independence and self-respect befitting men who acknowledge no superior, self-control to replace that external control which a democracy rejects, respect for law, obedience to the lawful expressions of the public will, consideration for the opinions and interests of others equally entitled to a voice in the State, loyalty to that abstract conception—one's country—as inspiring as that loyalty to personal sovereigns which has so illumined the pages of history, subordination of personal interests to the public good, love of justice and mercy, of liberty and order. All these we must seek by slow and patient effort; and of how many shortcomings in his own land and among his own people each one of us is conscious.

Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone, but the whole civilized world, is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our undertaking the hope of humanity depends.

Nor can we fail to see that the world makes substantial progress towards more perfect popular self-government.

I believe it to be true that, viewed against the background of conditions a century, a generation, a decade ago, government in my own country has advanced, in the intelligent participation of the great mass of the people, in the fidelity and honesty with which they are represented, in respect for law, in obedience to the dictates of a sound morality, and in effectiveness and purity of administration.

Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wrack of Indian fight-

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ing and race conflicts and civil wars, strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dignity, its honor, has risen above partisanship for individual leaders. The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. Property is protected and the fruits of enterprise are secure. Individual liberty is respected. Continuous public policies are followed; national faith is held sacred. Progress has not been equal everywhere, but there has been progress everywhere. The movement in the right direction is general. The right tendency is not exceptional, it is continental. The present affords just cause for satisfaction; the future is bright with hope.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men; intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of others' judgment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

To promote this mutual interchange and assistance between the American Republics, engaged in the same great task, inspired by the same purpose, and professing the same principles, I understand to be the function of the American Conference now in session. There is not one of all our countries that cannot benefit the others; there is not one that cannot receive benefit from the others; there is not one that will not gain by the prosperity, the peace, the happiness of all.

According to your programme, no great and impressive single thing is to be done by you; no political questions are to be discussed; no controversies are to be settled; no judgment is to be passed upon the conduct of any State; but many subjects are to be considered, which afford the possibility of removing barriers to intercourse, of ascertaining for the common benefit what advances have been made by each nation in knowledge, in experience, in enterprise, in the solution of difficult questions of government, and in ethical standards, of perfecting our knowledge of each other, and of doing away with the misconceptions, the misunderstandings, and the resultant prejudices that are such fruitful sources of controversy.

And there are some subjects in the programme which invite discussion that may lead the American Republics towards agreement upon principles, the general practical application of which can come only in the future through long and patient effort. Some advance at least may be made here towards the complete rule of justice and peace among nations in lieu of force and war.

The association of so many eminent men from all the Republics, leaders of opinion in their own homes, the friendships that will arise among you, the habit of temperate and kindly discussion of matters of common interest, the ascertainment of common sympathies and aims, the dissipation of misunderstandings, the exhibition to all the American peoples of this peaceful and considerate method of conferring upon international questions—this alone, quite irrespective of the resolutions you may adopt and the conventions you may sign, will mark a substantial advance in the direction of international good understanding.

These beneficent results the Government and the people of the United States of America greatly desire. We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sover-

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eignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit; but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be, and I hope will be, represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign States in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid one another in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help one another to show that for all the races of men the Liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of Justice and Peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.

Not in a single conference, nor by a single effort, can very much be done. You labor more for the future than for the present; but if the right impulse be given, if the right tendency be established, the work you do here will go on among all the millions of people in the American continents long after your final adjournment, long after your lives, with incalculable benefit to all our beloved countries, which may it please God to continue free and independent and happy for ages to come.

MUSCONGUS ISLAND: A POLITICAL ANOMALY

BY LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

ON Muscongus Island, if nowhere else, Jefferson's ideal of a minimum of government is being realized. The government of this little island is literally "of the people, by the people, and for the people." When the United States surveyors surveyed the coast of Maine, they omitted, presumably in error, the island of Muscongus. So trivial was the omission from the point of view of our great Federal Government that it has never been corrected by any one of the subsequent legion of mapmakers and surveyors. Therefore, speaking in a strictly technical sense, this island, separated two miles only from the coast of Maine, is not an integral part of the United States. Indeed, it may, in a very limited sense, be called a foreign country. It is, in fact, one of the perennial jokes of the natives to speak of themselves as foreigners when on the mainland. The island is three miles long by a mile across at the broadest point. In default of a census, the estimates of the population vary between

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one hundred and forty and one hundred and sixty. This little community of fishermen, then, separated by a ship's channel only from the coast of Maine, opposite the town of Bristol, Lincoln County, has never been recognized officially by the United States Government, glories in the slight, and is exceptionally prosperous and contented.

This island is known also as Loud's Island; Loud's being the English and Muscongus the Indian name. It is not known definitely when Muscongus or Loud's Island was first settled; probably a few years prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Indeed, nothing is definitely known about the history of the island, because there are no written records. A would-be historian of this minute fraction of the world would needs content himself with rumor, hearsay, and word-of-mouth history, with all its inevitable inaccuracy and fascinating exaggeration. Fortunately, there is in the community a born oral historian, who, as the direct descendant of one of the first settlers, has inherited a great store of such history as the island boasts. The writer discovered this elderly historian in his shed mending a broken hay-rake, and there had the privilege of listening to him for upwards of half an hour.

One of the first settlers, it appears, was a Captain Loud. He may, indeed, have been the very first settler, but this the historian, with true critical restraint, neither affirmed nor denied. Loud was the captain of a privateer in the service of King George the Third. After serving his King and himself very successfully for some years, he finally fell out with his Majesty over certain prize moneys. The Captain claimed, and claimed with some vehemence, that the King had appropriated far more than the royal share of the spoils; and upon the King obstinately refusing even to consider his grievance, he boldly shouted before a company of witnesses, "I would not again lift my hand for his Majesty even were it to save his head!" This was promptly repeated to the King, and he as promptly summoned the Captain to appear before him. The Captain declined this honor by abruptly embarking on a brig sailing for Boston. Somewhat later, while on a voyage from Boston along the New England coast, he chanced to touch at Muscongus Island, liked it, and there settled for the remainder of his life.

From the time of Captain Loud's settlement until a short time before the outbreak of our Civil War the island appears to have been strikingly devoid of history; at least of history of sufficiently stirring a nature to be worthy of my narrator's attention. The only scraps of historical incident discoverable for this great gap were not of sufficient significance to warrant their telling. Shortly before the war, however, the islanders made some history for themselves by taking advantage of their technical exclusion from the United States to avoid taxation. They had for many years, possibly ever since the settlement of the island, paid taxes to the town of Bristol and there voted. As time went on, however, there arose among the islanders an ever-increasing feeling of bitterness against the town because none of the money paid in taxes ever returned in the form of local aid or improvements. Within the memory of the historian the town expended just seven dollars on the island—making up one year a deficit of that amount in the running expenses of the school. Evidently this resentment smoldered for many years before it was kindled to action. A short time before the war, however, a miserly and wily old islander began to speculate on the possibility of dodging his taxes, and finally consulted a lawyer on the neighboring mainland. This lawyer was of the highly satisfactory opinion that there was no law which could compel an inhabitant of Loud's Island to pay taxes to the town of Bristol. He advised the old man not to pay unless the collector could produce legal authority to collect, which he was sure he could not do. The old man returned home rejoicing, and before the tax collector came again he and certain of his friends had agreed among themselves not to pay a cent unless the collector could show legal authority. They rubbed the tax rating from off their front doors, and prepared to "stand pat." It had always been the custom of the collectors to mark in chalk over each door the amount of taxes collected. The

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collector affirmed, asserted, and fumed, but he showed no authority and collected no taxes, but went away empty-handed, threatening to return shortly armed with the terrors of the law. But he never came back, and since that time no tax collector has ever set foot upon the island for business purposes. Not long after this, in a Congressional election, the Democratic candidate was elected by virtue of the island vote—the islanders being all Democrats except one. The Republicans contested the election, rightly claiming that if the islanders could not legally be taxed their votes were not valid. The courts upheld this contention, the island vote was thrown out, and the Republican candidate was returned to Congress. With ingenuous partisan zeal, the vote of the one Republican islander was allowed to stand. Since this time no islander has been eligible as a voter, but the loss of their franchise appears never to have given them a moment's regret.

At the time of the first drafting for the Civil War Muscongus Island was arbitrarily included in the same recruiting district as Bristol, and officers with drafting papers came off from Bristol to the island. They were sighted by some of the women some time before they reached the island, and, rumors of their purpose having preceded them, these women warned their "men folks" of their approach. And they, after arming themselves, went to the shore to meet the arrivals. They allowed the officers to land, but warned them that if they attempted to serve their drafting papers they would shoot them. There was nothing for the officers to do except to return to the mainland with their papers, and this they prudently did. Some of the wiser heads felt that in this matter their zealous neighbors had gone a bit too far. The School Agent, the solitary official, by the way, that the island boasts, called a public meeting for the purpose of discussing and acting upon the affair. Here the more cautious pointed out that it was one thing to oppose the town of Bristol and quite another to oppose the United States Government. Finally, actuated both by expediency and, let us suppose, by genuine patriotism, they voted $900 towards the support of the Government, several of the men agreed to volunteer, and many of the others to send substitutes. Thus, in the end, they did more voluntarily than could have been required of them under compulsion.

Upon inquiring if this was the only attempt to draft the men of the island, the historian replied, with a smile and great apparent relish of what was to come, that there was just one other attempt. This prophetic relish was a relief, as the broken hay-rake was approaching dangerously near completion. It seems that there was on the island a certain man by the name of Carter—which, by the way, is at present one of the prevailing names—who had served at one time in the regular army. A certain loud-mouthed Major, of notoriously loose morals which had made him cordially hated by all the good wives and mothers, was sent to draft this Carter. Arriving on the island, he went to Carter's house, and there found Mrs. Carter alone in the kitchen peeling potatoes. Upon finding that he came to draft her husband, Mrs. Carter gave him two minutes to leave the house or take the consequences. The Major very unwisely took the consequences, with the result that in less than fifteen minutes he left the island, bruised and breathless and without his man, while Mrs. Carter quietly set about peeling a new lot of potatoes for her husband's dinner. When the Major returned empty-handed to the local headquarters, he reported in explanation that poor Mrs. Carter had wept and carried on so that he hadn't the heart to take her husband away from her!

At the conclusion of this story a neighbor appeared who wanted the historian's help in "riggin' up" his hay wagon; the rake was finished, and my opportunity for further historical enlightenment was gone.

If a people with no laws may be called law-abiding, there are none more so than the inhabitants of Muscongus Island. Common sense enforced by public opinion rules the community. There are no theorists and there is no red tape; but it is safe to say that no written laws were ever as strictly and universally enforced by police and militia as are the

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simple rules of these people by public opinion. Their government, properly speaking, is no government at all, and yet it performs the functions of government with absolute success. The only official of the island is, as before mentioned, the School Agent. He is elected by acclamation in a public meeting held in the school-house—where, indeed, are held all meetings, whether secular or religious, and whether for the discussion of school matters or the general business of the island. Obviously, the community is not incorporated. If it were, such extreme simplicity of organization would be impossible. The School Agent, as his title implies, has charge of the school; he employs the teacher, looks after the building, etc. The school is supported by the parents of the children in attendance—a pro rata tax being levied upon them for the purpose. The School Agent also calls and presides over the public meetings when anything occurs which requires the collective action of the community. A notable feature of these meetings is that in them the women take an equal part with the men; they both speak and vote, and their power in the direction of affairs is exactly that of the men. Moreover, this has always been the case—that is, ever since the men were disqualified as voters on the mainland.

Some years ago the porgy industry was the mainstay of the island. There were three porgy factories, and practically every man fished for porgies. From these fish was produced an oil which was used in various ways, much of it being eventually sold as linseed oil. The sounds of this fish were also used by breweries in the process of settling beer. A man on the neighboring mainland told the writer that at this time he acted as agent for some Boston brewers, and went off to the island once each year to buy the entire supply of this beer-settling material. Instead of purchasing from each man his individual catch, he bought collectively the product of the island. Upon his arrival the School Agent would call a public meeting, at which, after the catch of the island and each man's share of the same had been estimated, there would follow a discussion of what price to put upon the crop. In this discussion the women generally took an important part, and, naturally enough, the purchasing agent himself had a good deal to say. Sometimes he would beat down the price asked by the meeting, but in at least two instances the catch was sold to him for something less than he offered to pay, on the ground that he had offered too much. There being no bank on the island, the people would not receive checks in payment, and hence the agent had to take with him from four to six thousand dollars in cash. When the terms of sale were settled, he paid this money to the School Agent, and he in turn distributed it pro rata among the inhabitants. The porgy business was finally abandoned for lack of further porgies, and the people were forced to fall back on less remunerative kinds of fishing—chiefly lobster and mackerel fishing—and, owing to the nature of these occupations, they no longer sell their product collectively.

The island contains upwards of nine hundred acres of ground. To supplement his fishing, each man has a small farm. On these the islanders raise their own vegetables, eggs, etc., but do not market their produce to any extent. My landlady, a widow, at first hesitated to take me in because it was haying time, and she had to spend the day in the hayfield and do most of her housework at night. Nor was this because she was a widow. The women of the island almost universally work in the fields with the men.

The island boasts as commercial centers two primitive stores, one of which, by a process of natural selection, fills the function of a club. Here, after the day's work, the men gather, in a more or less "slicked up" condition, and, kicking their legs on sugar-barrels or leaning on cracker-boxes, discuss all things both great and small. The evening that I spent at this "club" I was struck by the intelligence, the good English, the man-of-the-world ease, and the spontaneous hospitality of the men. They are, as a rule, however, such splendid specimens physically that, after taking a good look at them, you are not surprised to find them correspondingly well developed in

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brains and character. Their superiority, both mental and physical, to the men on the adjacent mainland, who are engaged in the same occupations and possess essentially the same opportunities, is as striking as it is interesting. Even those of us who are most democratic and furthest removed from the snob cannot help an instinctive feeling of superiority and patronage when we meet uncouth rustics, with all their pettiness, crudity, and consequent absurdity. But a man of ordinary intelligence would no more think of patronizing these men than he would a representative college president. One of their most noticeable characteristics is their contentment. It is not the unthinking animal contentment of the peasants of southern Europe, but a conscious and intelligent satisfaction with their lot. Most of the young people, rather than go to the mainland, prefer to stay on the island and follow literally the lives of their parents. And among such people this cannot be attributed to lethargy or lack of initiative, but must be accounted intelligent choice. The superiority of the people is the more remarkable when one considers that they have been intermarrying for generations, so that it is now rather the exception to meet two islanders who are not related.

While I sat in the store it grew dark, and as I was about to leave I remarked that I hoped I should be able to find my way home. Immediately one of the men volunteeted to walk with me, and, thinking that his home lay in my direction, I set off with him. It was not until we had reached the border of the farm where I was staying that I found that he lived at the opposite end of the island. It being a Saturday night, the customary time for spreeing and rowdyism, I asked my companion how they got along without police or sheriff in case of drunkenness, stealing, and so forth. He replied that while there were men on the island who drank, he had never known any of them to get drunk enough to make themselves a nuisance; and as for stealing, there never had been any, so far as he knew. The fact that locks and keys are practically unknown is eloquent testimony on this score. With one or two exceptions, all the houses and buildings are left unlocked at night. In fact, it appears to be looked upon as rather bad taste to lock up anything. Finding no actual evil to investigate, I was forced to make my questions hypothetical, and asked what would result if one of their number should steal or make himself otherwise a menace, or if such a person should come off from the mainland. My companion had never known such a case, but supposed that the objectionable person would be removed to the mainland and turned over to the authorities in the usual way. So, apparently, if they had any criminal problem on the island, they would shoulder it on to the mainland for solution. It is not so, however, with their poor problem; possibly because this has from time to time taken actual shape in the form of some forlorn old couple no longer able to work. At present every one is self-supporting, the only objects of charity having died a few years ago. These were a self-respecting old couple who had lost at sea the five sons who had been their support. An informal levy was made at stated intervals for the maintenance of these old people as long as they lived. There was, however, about this charity none of the unpleasant obviousness of our poorhouses. The old people remained in their own little cottage and lived in essentially the same way as always. Neither was there the slightest social stigma attached to them for accepting charity. They continued to speak and to vote in the public meetings, and generally to conduct themselves after the usual manner of aged and respected citizens.

The old white school-house, as the only public building on the island, is truly remarkable for its versatility of function. It changes rapidly and continuously from a school-house to a library, from a library to a town hall, from a town hall to a church, and from a church to a dance hall. Here school is held five days a week, Sunday-school on Sunday afternoon, and prayer-meeting Sunday evening. There being now no clergyman, there is, naturally, no preaching service. There was a clergyman some years ago, who lived on the island for some three or four years, but, like the aged and respected paupers, he has

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now vanished. It was he who established in the school-house the small free circulating library which is managed, or rather unmanaged, in a way so characistic of the island. There is no librarian, and no caretaker even. Any one may go in at any time, take a book off the shelves, and go off with it. To be sure, the supply of books is so slender that a lacking volume would soon be missed. In this connection it might be well to say that contributions to this little library are eagerly appreciated, and may be sent to Mr. Robert Carter, Round Pond, Bristol, Maine. Round Pond is the post-office where all the inhabitants get their mail, there being no post-office on the island. Whenever any one goes to the mainland, he or she is supposed to get the mail for the entire community, and to leave it at one of the stores to be called for.

Although less poetic than the fabled Atlantis, it is doubtful if there is among human communities so near an approach to a Utopia as Muscongus Island. Here there are no rich and no poor, no crime and no insanity; here good health, independence, honesty, industry, and contentment are so universal that they are looked upon as a matter of course. Here is one of the few places in the world where Browning's celebrated lines,

> "God's in his heaven,
> All's right with the world,"

would be a truism.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PILGRIMS

BY JOHN D. LONG

Ex-Secretary Long's address, which follows, was delivered at the tercentennial which took place at Plymouth on the first day of August last. Dr. Hale's address, "The Foundations," was published in The Outlook for September 15. Apart from the intrinsic interest of Mr. Long's address, it is particularly desirable that it should have a wide reading because a large portion of the American press have commented with more fervor than wisdom upon meager and incorrect reports of the address. These telegraphic reports selected and misrepresented a few sentences taken without regard to context or the general intent and purpose of the speaker, which was in brief to show that the Pilgrims had the same evils to contend with that we have, and as they overcame them so shall we.—THE EDITORS.

WHEN we speak of the Pilgrim Fathers, we really refer to a few of them, hardly more than can be counted on my fingers. To my mind the striking thing in this small number who stand for the Pilgrims is their practical wisdom—what in the vernacular we call hard common sense. It determined and governed their convictions not only in religious but material things. In both lines their minds were made up and their action taken with deliberate well-weighing. There was no sky-rockety enthusiasm, no evaporating impulse, no fanaticism. When they took a step, they took it with a view to every step that would follow, and they fixed their eyes, not on any diversion by the wayside, but on their ultimate destination. When they gathered their church in Scrooby, three hundred years ago to-day—this very church which worships here and now—there was no fitful flame of an ephemeral, shouting religious revival. "Ceremonies and service bookes and other anti-Christian stuffe" had become a yoke of bondage to them. They could endure no bishop or prelate between them and their God. The instinct of freedom, the spirit of liberty, was in them. Church to them meant the fellowship of the Gospel, and found its expression, not in forms and altars and robes, nor in fervors or frenzies, but in the Christian conduct of life, "in walking in all God's ways according to their best endeavors." To such a church they dedicated themselves and their children. Their hands once to the plow, there was no turning back.

Such men make not only the true church but the true state. They are the very salt of the plain people, on whom is the reliance of the present and the future. Plain people, indeed, were these

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Pilgrims, but, oh, how consummate and true were the leaders!—the same sort of men who have given us the New England ideal, the New England civilization—who gave our country independence and constitutional government—who have developed our education and our industries, which, by the way, are the best education—the same sort of men who are selectmen of our towns or members of a President's cabinet, for either of which places the same qualities are requisite.

Inspired by this practical wisdom, this hard common sense, firm and undeviating in their purpose, no oppression of power, no taunt of the multitude, could drive them from it. When their native land became intolerable by reason of the persecutions they suffered, they, with the same calm deliberation, crossed the waters with their families and their meager goods to Holland, and walked there in God's ways. Read Bradford's statement of the various reasons which, thirteen years later, led them to seek this distant and then savage shore—the unadaptedness of Holland to their ideals—the temptations to which it exposed their children—the duty of carrying the Gospel to the new world. The matter was considered on all sides—religious, moral, and material. There was no indifference to their worldly interests. It was no mad crusade, no pilgrimage made on bare feet, or in shoes sprinkled with pebbles. There was the liberal and exalted spirit of John Robinson, that pure, free taper of celestial light; the rugged sense of William Brewster and William Bradford and John Carver; the keen diplomatic facility of Edward Winslow. There was the high, sweet domestic inspiration of their devoted wives, carrying the family altar always with them, a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. And there joined them the sword and stout soldier's heart of Myles Standish.

No buffet of the ocean's storm, no wild New England shore, no winter of want and disease and death burying half their number, could swerve such a body of men and women, such a church, such a state, from its mature and determined purpose. One thing they had, though all else were lacking—they were free. And it is to their eternal glory that their freedom was not the license of riot but the freedom of law and order. They laid their foundations deep and strong, and their church was their commonwealth, as it is to-day our commonwealth. The letters of John Robinson are state papers. The journal of Bradford is a compendium of civil administration.

A better civilization, reacting from old ecclesiastical domination and imposition, has wisely insisted upon an absolute separation of church and state. And yet there is one sense in which they should be united, and that is the sense in which they were united in the Pilgrim—not the Puritan—commonwealth. No creed, no iron form, no ecclesiastical scourge or fetter. No church tyranny, but freedom of thought and worship, simply "walking in all God's ways made known or [how broad the outlook!] to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them."

In that great example of theirs is our lesson to-day. Their church became their state, the forerunner of this splendid American democracy of ours, this shining American republic, home of the free, a very statue of liberty enlightening the world, though it must be confessed that on close inspection some of its features are as ugly as a Hindu idol. I know not and you know not what is to be the future of the church of our day, with all its variety of faith and denomination and creed and beneficent activity. It has in its theology drifted far and well from ancient moorings; its ecclesiastical hold has slackened on many lines. Its thunders terrify no more. Even its sweet and inspiring appeals fall too often on dull ears, if, peradventure, there be any ears to hear. In ancient days its congregations were of men and women. To-day they are mostly of the sex which has least part in public affairs.

I am not of those who think the heavens are going to fall because a rose-leaf drops. I do not believe the times are worse than ever before. I believe they are better. I have only to turn to the past to find every danger, every affliction, every evil that assails us existing in a more viru-

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lent form in former days. Even in this Pilgrim colony the saints, as I have said, can be counted on the fingers. We are apt to think of it as a little kingdom of heaven on earth. But Bradford's journal shows that its interests were more of this world than of the next, and that its main concern was in beaver-skins and clapboards, and in counteracting the impositions in trade of the partners of its business ventures. It is amusing to read the loving and Scriptural phraseology under guise of which the knife of shrewd dicker was stuck into each other's ribs. Some of the very elect intrusted with its affairs were false to the trust and used their positions to feather their own nests—falser to their trust than any president of a modern insurance company. The first minister sent to it, in 1624, was a factious hypocrite who stirred up strife and was shown to have been a libertine, guilty of gross immorality. The second was a cross between a crank and an idiot, and was shipped off in short order. One of the original number was hung for willful murder. Within the first decade social vices infested the community; drunkenness, bickering, slander, licentiousness, even unnatural crimes, and all this in a community of very limited numbers. Upon the good and true had been thrust much that was vile, and their task was hard. No New England village of to-day need fear comparison. But, to their infinite credit be it said, the good prevailed with them over the evil, as it has prevailed with us and will hereafter prevail.

I feel, therefore, that the present age, with all its perils and crimes, is not a new revelation of the evil in human nature. On the contrary, I believe that all the present eruption and riot and violence which startle us to-day are only the boiling of the caldron which, hot and scalding now, is sloughing off the scum, and will, with the turning of the cycle, subside anon into the cool and purified waters of life and continued progress.

But, on the other hand, I do not shut my eyes to the perils of the process—perils which are always imminent, process which is always going on. I recognize, as we all do, the discontent which is in the body politic, and which shakes the foundations under us like the tremors of an earthquake, threatening the stability of our institutions, the security of property, the safeguards of society. It is a discontent that arises not from the fact that the great body of the people have little, for they never had so much. It arises from the fact that the man who has a hundredfold more than the Pilgrim compares himself, not with the Pilgrim, but with his neighbor who has a hundredfold more than himself. The man who walks hates the man who drives a horse, but when he has his horse is unhappy because of the man who spins by him in an automobile, blowing a horn and raising a cloud of dust, and whom he hates. The great problem of our material age is not the accumulation but the distribution of wealth. It is the inequalities that sting and make festers. It takes a little philosophy to accept the inevitable laws of nature and to recognize that while there is no justification for the grossly artificial inequalities of possession, yet the inequalities of fortune, which arise naturally under a condition of equal rights and privileges for all, are the very stimulus to enterprise, to activity, and to that social and material adjustment which, by and large, best serves the common welfare. The hilltop with its great reservoir of pure water may seem more favored than the dry, sandy plain which envies it, but not so with good reason if it is simply a reservoir for the overflow of refreshing streams that reach every dweller below, and instead of robbing him insure him a constant and unfailing supply of health and comfort. It is well for us, however justly impatient we may be of the powerful massings of capital which have set going the great industrial wheels of production and employment, carefully to guard, while properly restricting them, against too violent an impairment of enterprise and investment, which might result in disaster not only to financial but industrial interests, cut off the flow of wages and support, and kill the goose that lays the golden egg on which all of us alike are directly or indirectly feeding.

If it is a time of unrest, as it is, and as what time is not, is it not also a time for conservative thought and co-operation—

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a time not for holding up one's hands in terror and complaint, not for denunciation of every outcry the people raise, but for meeting whatever is well founded in their demand, for sifting the justice in their claims from the error, the sense from the folly, the grain from the chaff, for inculcating sound views, for calling a prudent halt now and then, for reforming conditions indeed, but also for preaching and promoting content with existing conditions so far as these are in conformity with the operation of the wise economic laws of our human nature, and for reviving and exemplifying the brave lives and wholesome common sense of the Pilgrims "walking in God's ways."

And is it not just here that the church has its present great opportunity as a mighty conservative power for wisdom and righteousness, for peace and content? For content is happiness and discontent is misery. Not the pulpit alone, but the church of the people, the Pilgrim church, the church gathered three hundred years ago to-day at Scrooby—the church of all men and women who believe that God reigns, a church which, with all its forces united and working together, is a power mighty enough to meet and solve the problems of our day, however full of peril they may seem!

Is it not worth the while of the great conservative interests of our country, of all who fear for the stability and security of the state and society, to consider whether the church, the Pilgrim church, is not their concern as well as that of the faithful preacher who mounts his pulpit, or of the good women who dispense its charities and run its sewing circles and conferences, to consider whether it is not the part of practical wisdom for them to give it their right-handed support, to make it a rallying force in the preservation of law and order, a fountain of content among the people, a reservoir of conservatism against false demagogism and anarchic riot? Let them fill it as they fill their places of business, rouse it from the lethargy which is their lethargy, and make it a mighty engine for the salvation both of the soul and the body of society. Then will it be a power again in the social fabric and then will its ministers catch fire from heaven and inspiration from their flocks, and speak with the trumpet voice.

Give us back across the three centuries the church at Scrooby, the church not of the few but of all the people who would "walk in God's ways," the church and state of the Pilgrim democracy. It is the age of utility. Utilize the church!

AN ETHICAL CREED

BY JAMES M. WHITON

DR. JOHN WATSON (Ian Maclaren) has been saying that no Church since the primitive days of Christianity has ventured to formulate "an ethical creed." By this he doubtless means a creed expressing the ethical ideals of Christianity with the emphasis given them in the Scriptures.

Dr. Watson's remark is abundantly corroborated by a survey of the principal creeds, ecumenical and Protestant. The former, including the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene, are liturgical affirmations of the historical and spiritual facts and doctrines of the Evangelic Tradition, to which the Nicene adds its metaphysical doctrine of the deity of Christ to fence out the Arian heresy. In both of these the ethical element is present more in inference than in expression. In the Protestant creeds, beginning with the Augsburg Confession in 1530, the ethical element, though not wanting, is thrown into the shade by the theological emphasis on orthodox doctrine, which in some points is even non-ethical, affirming in the Heidelberg Catechism that God imputes to the believer in Christ the perfect righteousness and holiness of Christ. The duty of "good works" all Protestant creeds affirm, but deny them any religious value except as the

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fruit of faith in the atoning sacrifice of Christ. Martineau, in his "Types of Ethical Theory," remarks upon this with some exaggeration: "With the proclamation and spread of Protestantism the *religious* value of morals disappeared."

Furthermore, the ethical standard adopted was neither the highest nor the most complete. It was taken from the Pentateuch rather than from the Gospels, from the law of Moses rather than the life of Jesus. The Westminster Confession of 1647 affirms that the moral law of God is set forth in the Ten Commandments, mainly negative as they are, as "a perfect rule of righteousness." Thus deficient ethically, the creeds expend their strength on an interest for doctrinal knowledge, and overshadow the things to be done with the things to be believed. Closely related to this one-sidedness is the fact noted by a friendly critic, that "the Church has found it easier to worship Jesus as the Son of God than to follow him as the Son of man."

The primitive documents of Christianity set it forth as "the Way" of the godly life, and with equal emphasis on its ethical and its religious characteristics. Its subsequently formed creeds exhibit it in terms of dogma rather than of life. A few years since, a seminary professor wrote that the Presbyterian Church existed for the maintenance of the doctrinal beliefs set forth in its theological standards. The natural evil consequence of this long magnifying of the intellectual and dwarfing of the ethical interest is seen in the current misconception of Christianity, which repels from the churches so many good people, who regard it as a system of doctrines which they more or less dissent from, rather than as the Way of the moral and religious life which their consciences approve. A consequence more pernicious is that outside of the churches, as well as within, many have made to themselves idols—a crude morality without religion, and a crude religion morally deficient.

Such, then, is the urgent need for a creed blending religion and morality with equal fullness in the indissoluble union which each requires for genuineness. The pattern is abundantly clear in the Scriptures. These illuminate what the creeds obscure. How closely the Hebrew prophets identified morality with religion appears in Micah's classic question, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" The Pauline Epistles give us theology in abundance, but ethics also with a fullness which the creeds, while amplifying the theology, have neglected. See how the theological climax of Paul's letter to the Romans introduces us at chapter xii. to the lofty highlands of the moral life of the godly. See also how the sublime Christology of the first half of his letter to the Colossians is made the foundation for the elaborate ethical superstructure in the second half. But it is, above all, in the life of Jesus that the interpenetration, the perfect fusion, of religion and morality is seen in ideal completeness.

I believe in Jesus Christ and in following him is the most compendious and also most complete creed for a Christian man. But intelligent self-direction in this line calls for supplementary ethical definition. General terms require specifications. The whole can be adequately known only by knowing the particulars that compose it. Theologically the creeds have given such knowledge in ample details. Ethically it remains to be given in equal amplitude, and even larger, since conduct counts for more than knowledge. Faith is simple, but occasions for its exercise in conduct are manifold. The ethical definition of what it is to believe in Christ and follow him must needs be somewhat expansive in detail. Creed-makers are commonly supposed to have had their day. Cutting down their intellectual work to things essential is supposed to be all that remains to do. On the contrary, the ethical field in which they did so little is one in which much remains to do.

Ten years ago Dr. Watson himself made a beginning in this field. It was widely discussed at the time. Its expansion of ethical interest with contraction of the theological called forth some protests from ecclesiastical quarters. Thus it read: "I believe in the Fatherhood of God; in the words of Jesus; in a clean

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heart; in the service of love; in the unworldly life; in the Beatitudes. I promise to trust God and to follow Christ, to forgive my enemies, and to seek after the righteousness of God."

This statement of a confession in which all Christian people must agree was offered simply as a basis for Christian unity. Adequate for that, it is less adequate for the greater need of the development of an instructed Christian conscience. This requires more specific affirmations of the various characteristics of Christian life and conduct. All Christians theoretically "believe in the words of Jesus;" not all follow every line of conduct required by such belief. All Christians "believe in a clean heart;" not all in every particular of the conduct which makes the heart really clean. For practical uses an ethical creed should so explicitly delineate the Way of life and conduct which the Christian ideal requires that the ignorant and inexperienced may comprehend it and intelligently follow it amidst temptations to various forms of unrighteousness. While Dr. Watson's brief formulary goes in the right direction, its generalities need to be particularized for pedagogic use.

What this involves has been well expressed in a paragraph of the declaration of faith adopted this year for the united church in which Congregationalists, Methodist Protestants, and the United Brethren propose to coalesce:

> We believe that, according to Christ's law, men of the Christian faith exist wholly for the service of man, not only in holding forth the Word of life, but in the support of works and institutions of piety and charity, in the maintenance of human freedom, in the deliverance of all those that are oppressed, in the enforcement of civic justice, and the rebuke of all unrighteousness.

Excellent as it is, it is a question whether this comes fully up to the ideal. An ethical compartment in a block of propositions does not impart ethical character to the whole. In any statement whatsoever a specifically ethical characteristic is recognizable only in the purposing of an object of will and endeavor. An ethical creed, therefore, must not only express the relation of its *credenda* to *agenda*, of belief to action, but this relation must appear throughout, to give ethical character to the whole.

The ideal creed of this kind is unlikely to be formulated by a single hand. But it will have to meet two distinct needs: (1) Emphasis on moral ideals rather than, as the theological creeds, on intellectual ideas; (2) sufficient detail to avoid both the brevity that veils and the diffuseness that tires. Some such specimen as the following may serve for illustration of the aim:

> We believe in God as the Father of all men, requiring a brotherly mind and conduct toward all from each.
>
> We believe in Jesus Christ as our divine pattern of sonship to God and brotherhood to man; the Captain of our salvation through warfare against whatever is unbrotherly toward man and unfilial toward God.
>
> We believe in the Holy Spirit as our Monitor, Quickener, and Guide into all truth and duty in Jesus' Way of love and faithfulness to God and man.
>
> We believe in the Bible as the record of the Holy Spirit's work in bringing men out of darkness into the saving light of Christ, that we may know the will of God, and do it.
>
> We believe that salvation through Christ is salvation from a selfish heart and life, wrought out through unselfish service to men, to be done as for God, and as a necessary part of the true worship of God.
>
> We believe that the whole duty of man is to seek the Kingdom of God and his righteousness,
>
> By loving one's neighbor as one's self, and treating as neighbor whomever we can help in his need;
>
> By sacrifice at the altar of human need as sacrifice at the altar of God;
>
> By aiming at goodness as true greatness, and greatness in unselfish service as the noblest greatness;
>
> By valuing material goods according to their uses as helps toward a higher life for ourselves and others;
>
> By preferring a rich life to a rich living, richness in good thoughts and deeds to richness in possessions;
>
> By strictness with ourselves and charitableness to others;
>
> By forgetting offenses, remembering kindnesses, and speaking truth in love;
>
> By regarding the good in others rather than the evil, and making more of our agreements with others than our disagreements;
>
> By abhorring all insincerity, indolence, and cowardice;
>
> By hating every form of evil in one's self or in the community, and warring against it;
>
> By steadfast patience, courage, and sympathy, regardless of inconvenience or loss, in furthering our Father's will in

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ourselves, our neighborhood, our nation, and our world.

The present time of moral awakening seems to invite constructive work in this line. The School of Ethical Culture must no longer be permitted to outdo the Church. The need of an ethical creed is pedagogical even more than confessional. This is the point of view for the attainment of a satisfying result.

THE BREAD-AND-BUTTER THEORY OF HISTORY

BY H. J. HASKELL

IN 1888 Kansas gave a plurality of 80,000 to the Harrison electors. Four years later, after a succession of lean seasons, the State returned a plurality of 6,000 for the Populist Presidential ticket. Its agricultural depression had been translated into terms of politics.

Here is an exemplification in its baldest form of that theory of history that has been winning increasing acceptance in recent years. Briefly, the economic interpretation of history assumes that the conquest of the highlands of Canaan by the Beni Israel, the Reformation, Puritanism, the Revolution, the Civil War, were alike the result of economic conditions. Sometimes, it is admitted, the economic motive is more apparent than at others. But always it is there. The world, like the army, moves on its belly.

The desire to earn a living is regarded as the controlling motive in human affairs. To this desire all events are traced. Thus the economic interpretation is really an attempt to bring the willful course of human events into an ordered system—to reduce history to a science governed, as every science must be, by the fixed law of cause and effect.

Such an attempt, apparently transforming men into Tennyson's "puppets . . . moved by an unseen hand at a game," involves some of the deepest problems of life and destiny, for it finds events the inevitable outcome of the operation of blind forces that are at least partly conditioned by climate and geography. But, ignoring for the moment the disquieting aspect of what seems an assault on the freedom of the will, it must be admitted that this method of dealing with history is wonderfully fruitful. Happenings once apparently chaotic, at its application begin to arrange themselves in a comprehensible series. The fragmentary records of the race become part of a definite plan. And it is possible, as never before, to trace the progress of human evolution.

The search for underlying conditions compels a vastly different treatment from that involved in Freeman's definition of history as past politics. It even means a distinct advance beyond the revolutionary conceptions of Green, whom Freeman admonished to leave out of "The Short History of the English People" "all that stuff about art and literature and how people dressed and furnished their homes." Applied to the familiar field of American history, it opens a fascinating vista. The economic motive is found where the older historians did not suspect its existence, and it helps to explain events that they only partly understood.

Take some of the salient episodes, for instance. The earlier accounts of the discovery of the continent began with a statement of ancient notions of geography. Then came the Northmen, and then Columbus. The finding of the New World was set down as his achievement precisely as the invention of the alphabet was once credited to Cadmus. There was an uneasy feeling among the readers that if he had failed, America might to-day be given over to the Indians. "The fate of a nation was riding that night," an old-fashioned historian has exclaimed in writing of the old monk's journey to the Spanish court to plead Columbus's cause.

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It is far more suggestive, and it detracts not a whit from the honor due Columbus, to point out that his work was an incident in the expansion of European commerce that had begun to follow the accumulation of capital in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the Turkish conquests blocking the rising trade with the "golden East," a bold navigator, turning westward, reached the New World. But had Columbus languished out his life in vain appeals to European courts, the discovery would have been only slightly postponed. For only eight years afterwards Pedralvarez Cabral, a Portuguese navigator with thirteen ships, getting out of his course while rounding Africa, came upon the shore of Brazil.

Like the discovery, the exploration and settlement of the New World were economically conditioned. It was the tireless quest for gold that sent Cordova to Yucatan, Cortez to Mexico, and Coronado to the Kansas Quivira. The commercial motive dominated De Soto's journey to the Mississippi. "He was determined," says Hakluyt's narrative, "to send no newes of himself until hee had found some rich country." Even with the romantic Ponce de Leon the discovery of the fountain of youth was a minor purpose of which his patent from the Crown knows nothing. Gold and trade were his chief objects.

The colonists, following the explorers, were prompted largely by identical motives. They sailed for Virginia because they believed it to be a land, as the play of "Eastward Ho!" said, "where gold and silver is more plentiful than copper is with us." The London Company undertook to people its grants for precisely the reasons that prompt the railways to advertise homeseekers' excursions into the Southwest to-day. It wanted to pay dividends on its stock, which was quoted at twelve pounds ten shillings a share.

So, too, the hope of financial betterment induced the Pilgrims to leave Holland for America. "First," says William Bradford, enumerating the reasons for the migration, "first, they saw & found by experience the hardness of ye place & countrie to be such as few in comparison would come to them and fewer that would bide it out." In America they sought a land where it would be easier to make a living. Idealists the Pilgrims were, but idealists with a keen eye for material prosperity.

The physical conditions of the country determined the general forms of the evolution of national life. In the middle of the eighteenth century the English controlled only the narrow strip of seaboard before the Appalachian barrier, while the French owned the vast Mississippi valley and Canada. But this disparity was more than compensated for by the isolation and inaccessibility of the French possessions compared to the English, which offered hundreds of miles of coast to European traders and immigrants. Thus it is estimated that from 1730 to 1770 a half-million Scotch-Irish migrated to the colonies, most of them to Philadelphia and Charleston. Moreover, the very Appalachian barrier was of value, for it dammed up the population until the colonies had become sufficiently peopled to carry on a successful contest with the mother country. Without this barrier there might have been an ineffective dispersion, as indeed there was in the case of the French.

The abundance of land had a profound influence on American character. It prevented the development of those forms of vice that flourish where population is congested. The struggle for existence in America was a fight with the wilderness rather than with men. The outcome was a sort of national inexperience that found expression in a flamboyant provincialism, and that is embodied in much of the earlier American literature. The blameless Dr. Holmes, for instance, as Professor Barrett Wendell has pointed out, corresponds in many ways to the mordant Voltaire, a typical product of European conditions. The wilderness itself deeply affected the people's traits. On its outskirts all artificial distinctions vanished. Titles, rank, social prestige, were useless. The man was measured by what he could do. Democracy was the child of the frontier. "What, then, is the American, this new man?" wrote St. John de Crevecœur in the eighteenth century. "He is an

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American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men."

It was the spirit of independence bred of the wilderness that combined with economic abuses to cause the remote western frontier of England to assert its right to self-government. With the rise of the merchants to power in seventeenth-century England, their influence had secured the enactment of the series of navigation acts that embodied the current economic theories—the mercantilism that corresponds to modern protectionism. According to this "home market" theory, the colonies were regarded as commercial dependencies to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country, which must monopolize their trade. The tobacco of the South could be exported only to England, where the price was much lower than on the Continent. The important manufacture of New England rum was impeded by the prohibitive duty on molasses, which was the basis of the industry. This policy aroused a resentment which the mother country regarded with pained surprise. "In matters of commerce," the English traveler Andrew Burnaby wrote of the Virginians in 1759, "they are ignorant of the principles that must prevail between a colony and the mother country; they think it a hardship not to have unlimited trade to every part of the world."

It was not on commerce alone that restraint was laid. The rising manufactures of the provinces attracted the attention of interests powerful in Parliament, and restrictions were imposed on the manufacture of woolen and iron. Burnaby observed that New York was "exceedingly dissatisfied" with the policy that had ruined its flourishing iron mills. As in all new countries, both capital and money were scarce, and the colonists were tempted into a long and disastrous series of experiments with paper currency. When Parliament intervened to prohibit the practice, there was wide spread indignation that will be understood by a generation that recalls the strength of the greenback movement and the fervor of the organizers of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party.

The fundamental sources of discontent are clear. The accumulation of property by manufacturers had been forbidden. By the enforcement of the navigation acts the people's circumstances had become straitened. Then, with their supply of gold and silver from abroad cut off, their attempt to secure relief by the issuance of paper money had been stopped. As a climax had come the attempt to collect a colonial tax. The Revolution was much more than the mere contest over a form of words that many writers have declared it to be, although it was not a revolt against conscious political tyranny, as patriotic Americans once supposed.

War produced the customary disorganization of business. The old trade routes were interrupted and a spirit of speculation was aroused. The resulting hard times account, in part at least, for the failure of the Articles of Confederation. Deficient as they were, they might have proved more nearly workable had the country been prosperous. Modern experience has shown that no political measure—a tariff bill or what-not—gets a fair trial in a period of business depression.

"The emperor has kotowed for rain," said the rebellious viceroy, "and the land is still parched. Of what use is an emperor who kotows for rain and no rain comes?"

The Constitution, happily, kotowed successfully for rain. It chanced to be adopted at a time when the country was rapidly recovering from the demoralization of war, and when trade and industry generally had revived. It might have succeeded in any event, but its success was doubly assured by the era of prosperity with which it was coincident. Incidentally its adoption was the outcome of economic rather than of political causes. The Annapolis Convention, out of which grew the historic assembly in Philadelphia, was convoked to devise a uniform regulation of trade for the States.

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The economic foundation underlying the discovery of the continent, its exploration and colonization, and its severance of political relations with the Old World, existed, too, beneath the struggle for disunion. The great tobacco plantations had made slavery possible in the South. With their exhaustion in the eighteenth century, the institution had become practically moribund. Its recrudescence followed the invention of the cotton-gin in 1793. Thereafter the cultivation of the easily grown short-staple variety of cotton was profitable, for the invention of the power-loom had just begun to make possible the manufacture of cotton cloth on an extensive scale. Since slave labor could be profitably used on cotton plantations, slavery and cotton, economically conditioned, dominated Southern thought.

They alienated the South from the manufacturing North. "In 1816," Professor F. J. Turner writes, "the average price of middling uplands in New York was nearly thirty cents, and South Carolina's leaders favored the tariff; in 1820 it was seventeen cents, and the South saw in the protective system a grievance; in 1824 it was fourteen and three-fourths cents, and the South Carolinians denounced the tariff as unconstitutional. When the Woolens Bill was agitated in 1827, cotton had fallen to but little more than nine cents, and the radicals of the section threatened civil war."

It was New England that at the time of the Louisiana Purchase and the War of 1812 had been talking of secession. But by the formation of the new northwestern States, whose people felt their first allegiance to be to the National Government, and by a growing industrialism that looked to Washington for aid in tariff duties and internal improvements, the North had become nationalized. The South, unfortunately, was by slavery forced out of the main stream of nineteenth-century life and thought. Forced to depend on the individual States to safeguard its property, condemned to the plantation life that fosters conservatism and traditions, the South failed to develop the nationalism or the conception of human rights that dominated Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, the North had the fortunate opportunity to develop its ethical system free from the influence of slavery. Thus it accumulated a surplus of morals that brought it into collision with Southern ideals. The resulting crash was natural. Was it inevitable?

That is a question that in its general form vitally affects the method of attributing events to underlying economic causes, for if it be answered in the affirmative, free will becomes a myth. A myth undoubtedly it has become to many of the exponents of the doctrine of "economic determinism," as it has been called in France. So, in a recent address, Mr. Charles Francis Adams adopts the fatalistic position regarding the Civil War. "Science threw steam and electricity into the scale," he says, referring to the nationalization of the North, "and in 1865 they made the other kick the beam. . . . That great drama swept on to its inevitable catastrophe, Fate and Necessity ever the refrain of its chorus, until, at the end, the resounding clash of arms."

But this fatalistic assumption confuses what Professor Hugo Münsterberg has called a method of bookkeeping with the business transactions themselves. It serves a practical and highly useful purpose to fit events into a system of cause and effect. But, after all, we know that the progress of the race is the outcome of the interaction of attitudes of will freely assumed by countless individuals. Society expresses itself largely, to be sure, in a system of values and wealth distribution. But on all this are reared the beliefs and purposes and ideals in which mankind really lives. The bread-and-butter side of life is quite subordinate.

In every stage of civilization the economic conditions have merely furnished the raw material out of which men have constructed their ideals. Scalps are different from steel mills. Yet the identical motive of ambition may prompt the Indian to strive for the one and the captain of industry for the other. If the colonists fought England because of economic wrongs, the Revolution remains a contest for liberty as an ideal involved in the undisturbed possession of private

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property. So through the whole course of history men have fought and worked for motives that were often apparently based on economic conditions, but which in reality translated those conditions into ideal forms.

So, too, while the economic basis for human action has apparently been fatalistically determined, that action has expressed will attitudes freely assumed. To consider men mere "puppets" is to be deceived by the artificial scheme that science has contrived to help explain the world of things. Undoubtedly the range of choice is limited in a thousand ways. It is safe to assume that the average American will not turn Mohammedan or grow a queue or fight a duel. But within this range selections are freely made in accordance with ideal demands.

The ideals of liberty and duty have differentiated the English civilization from the French, in which the corresponding motives have been fraternity and honor. Small land-holdings have helped to make possible the French variety of democracy; but it was this very democratic spirit that made possible the laws for the minute subdivision of property.

It is only science, seeking as usual for its own legitimate ends to construct an artificial system—to describe in set terms what is really an indescribable world of experience and appreciation—that reads into historical development the inexorable law of cause and effect. The economic interpretation is a wonderfully suggestive method. It is nothing more.

THE MODERN VIEW OF THE BIBLE[1]

AN increasing number of readers, who are not, however, properly speaking, students, and who have neither time nor inclination for research, desire to be told in plain and untechnical language what are the views which modern critics hold respecting the Bible, and how those views differ from the traditions of the Church. To such persons there may be cordially commended for the views of modern critics respecting the Old Testament, Professor Kent's volume on "The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament," and for the modern view of the New Testament, Professor Ropes's volume on "The Apostolic Age in the Light of Modern Criticism." Both volumes give results rather than processes; both assume without discussion the postulate of the modern critic that these collections of literature are to be studied exactly as any other collections of literature for the purpose of ascertaining their origin, authorship, and integrity. Both authors bring to the study of these collections, if not absolutely unprejudiced minds, at all events a thoroughly scientific temperament. Both are inspired by a sincere desire to know the truth, whatever effect that truth may have on preconceived theories, and by a fine and unpolemical courage to declare the truth, confident that its ultimate effect will be only beneficial. The motto of both books might well be that which Professor Kent has put upon his title-page: "Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."

This general statement of cordial commendation must be accompanied with some qualifications. Professor Kent's volume bears internal evidence of being composed of treatises originally written separately and here brought together because they all relate to one general theme. On the one hand, the chapter on "The Influences that Produced the New Testament" is certainly not necessary, and is hardly germane to the author's theme. On the other hand, there are some serious omissions. He does not treat the fiction of the Old Testament; has nothing to say respecting the books of Ruth and Esther; nothing respecting Jonah and the Song of Songs—books which are so great a perplexity to the average reader. We do not agree with him in his putting of the Ten Command-

[1] *The Apostolic Age in the Light of Modern Criticism.* By James Hardy Ropes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

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ments as historically subsequent to the commands in Exodus, chapter thirty-four. We think the view of Ewald and Bruce, that the Ten Commandments are the germs of Mosaism, is far more probable; and the difference is material, because the view of Professor Kent makes the religion of ritual precede ethical religion in Hebrew history. In our judgment, the very essence of the Hebrew religion was its revelation that Jehovah is a righteous God and demands nothing but righteousness of his children. The ritual was a later addition borrowed from pagan nations.

But Professor Kent's view of the Bible is both spiritual and scientific. He holds that "one dominant aim determines the form of each book and the selection of individual passages, and binds together the whole; it is effectively to set forth spiritual truth and to mold in accordance with God's will the characters and beliefs of men." He also holds that the Bible contains a revelation of God, and is the supreme but not the sole revelation of the Father to his children: "The Old Testament, therefore, is the final record of a revelation extending through thousands of years, finding at last its most exalted expression in the messages of the Hebrew prophets, and its clearest reflection in the thoughts and experiences of the priests, sages, and psalmists of ancient Israel."

Professor Ropes's point of view in his interpretation of the New Testament is that of Professor Kent in his interpretation of the Old Testament. The record of the Apostolic age is not a final authority for the Church of the twentieth century, for the reason that it cannot be reproduced in an age whose essential conditions are so radically different from those of the first century. We are not to look to the Apostolic age to furnish a working model or an authoritative standard; but we can understand successive ages of Christianity only by some understanding of its primitive age. We need to understand the records of the origin of Christianity, and they can be understood only as we understand the age in which they were produced. Moreover, the Apostolic age is a heroic epoch, and in its study we learn the first impressions that Christianity produced upon the world. Professor Ropes gives an admirable survey of Jewish Christianity, an admirable character sketch of the Apostle Paul, and an admirable summary of the modern view respecting the date, origin, and form of composition of the Four Gospels. His interpretation of Paul's theology is, unfortunately, couched too much in modern theological phraseology, and he seems to us to fail to bring out the most fundamental characteristic of Paul's teaching, namely, its subjective character. The doctrine of sacrifice, for example, is as old as religion. What was peculiar to Paul's teaching was that to avail ourselves of sacrifice we must share in it. We must be crucified with Christ and raised from the dead with him if his death and his resurrection are to be of any value to us. We should also question Professor Ropes's statement that "the memories of Jesus' life and teachings were at first not written," or at least we should qualify it. Dr. Ramsay, in his "Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia," has, we think, justified his conclusion that "so far as antecedent probability goes, founded on the general character of personal and contemporary Greek or Græco-Asiatic society, the first Christian account of the circumstances connected with the death of Jesus must be presumed to have been written in the year when Jesus died." However, such questions as this respecting the religion and sources of documents so ancient as those of the Old and New Testaments can never be solved with certainty. It will always be the case that different hypotheses will be defended by different scholars of equal ability. Fortunately, the spiritual value of the writings does not depend upon accurate information respecting their origin and composition. If the reader will bear this in mind, if he will remember that the statements made by these writers must be regarded as, in the nature of the case, probable but not absolutely certain, he will find in these two books useful guides to an understanding of the modern point of view respecting both the Old Testament and the New Testament.

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Comment on Current Books

The Aristocracy of Health

The habit of physical introspection so prevalent during the last few years gives rise to a number of books and periodicals devoted to the subject of hygiene. The present volume, while it considers the question of health in all its phases, concerns itself especially with an analysis of "the favorite poisons," to use the writer's phrase, and the effects not only of alcohol and tobacco, but of tea and coffee, are carefully investigated. All stimulants, without exception, are associated with physical degeneracy, and the argument is supported by copious extracts from authorities. The latter part of the volume is devoted to a study of dietary systems, with a full exposition of the vegetarian theory. The material is thrown into popular form, and although it could easily be reduced in bulk, the book is readable. As an argument against the use of stimulants it carries weight; as a general philosophy of living it has its limitations. The following statements may be acceptable to the physical culture enthusiast, but to the average thinker they indicate a doctrine extreme in its materialism: "We have been accustomed to consider the personality alone of the individual who 'subdues a disease' or 'who makes a splendid uphill fight,' etc., whereas the patient himself is but a battlefield." And again, "The reason for the laggard by the wayside, the unsuccessful, is physical." Speaking of the great eras of Greece and Rome, the writer says: "Man mentally and morally depended upon man physically;" and she opens her dietary study by quoting, "Man is what he eats." This doctrine, closely analyzed, is absolutely at variance with those spiritual principles discerned by humanity's best interpreter; the assertion that man is a physical derivative, that his character is secondary and dependent, leads to very material conclusions. And from a purely practical standpoint this reasoning is open to criticism in that it is apt to defeat its own end of health by inducing a physical self-consciousness. (The Aristocracy of Health. By Mary Foote Henderson. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

A Child's Recollections of Tennyson

This bit of a volume is delightful in every way. The writer describes the pleasant neighborly intercourse between her family and the Tennysons in the days when she was a playmate of the poet's sons at Farringford, and her reminiscences, written with unusual simplicity and grace, are full of those familiar episodes so much more interesting than opinions and generalizations. "I believe that even if he had never written a line I should think him one of the finest of the genus humanum," her father writes of Tennyson shortly after their meeting on the Isle of Wight, and there is always that touch of personal distinction, genius, about the figure of the poet, although it is suggested quite unconsciously in the little girl's impressions. (A Child's Recollections of Tennyson. By Edith Nicoll Ellison. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1, net.)

Communion with God

This popular edition of Herrmann's "Communion with God" we welcome, because we are glad to see so rational and so devout a book published in a form which brings it within the reach of others than professional students. For it is more than a book of theology; it is an exposition and interpretation of religious experience. We may thus summarize its essential doctrine: Religion is an inward experience. "Each individual must experience it for himself as a gift from above." "In religion man seeks, not simply God's gifts, but God himself." Nothing can serve as a substitute for this living experience. Christianity is not a substitute for it, but a means for producing it. This is life: no belief in any system of doctrine or in any "plan of salvation" can take the place of this inward experience. "The thoughts of others who are redeemed cannot redeem me." The value of Scripture is not that it furnishes doctrines which are a prerequisite to this life, but that it is a record of this life. "A man learns how to see this glory of the sacred Scripture when there has begun in him the same life whose rise and whose perfection are there incomparably described." No information concerning God, however derived, is a substitute for this personal experience of God. But the revelation of God in Jesus Christ gives explanation and definition and confirmation of this personal experience of God. "Whereby shall we know that a living God is communing with us?" The answer to this question is not a doctrine about Jesus Christ; it is Jesus Christ himself. "He is precisely that fact which can make us certain, as no other fact can, that God communes with us." Thus Christianity at once conducts to that experience of God in the soul which is religion, confirms that

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experience, and defines and interprets it. Christianity is more than mysticism, which is an undefined consciousness of God; it is other than dogmatism, which is a doctrine or series of doctrines about God. It is a historical interpretation of God-consciousness. Such is the gist of this book, whose chief if not its sole defect is that it is written too much in theological language and perhaps in parts too much assumes a theological knowledge in the reader. Rejecting the author's definition of mysticism, we should say of this book that it represents a historical and rational mysticism, and ought to furnish inspirational reading to thoughtful laymen, and should suggest some lines of practical spiritual teaching to the receptive and not too critical preacher. (The Communion of the Christian with God. By Wilhelm Herrmann, Dr. Theol. Revised by R. W. Stewart, B.D., B.Sc. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.)

The Crystal Scepter Mr. Mighels's new book will prove decidedly entertaining to the average boy. The narrator, whirled from a balloon over which he has lost all control, finds himself on an island inhabited by creatures half animal, half human, which he classifies as "missing links." The story of his adventures among them is not juvenile literature of the first order, but the writer understands young readers, and the narrative is full of a kind of action sure to excite their interest and please their fancy. (The Crystal Sceptre. By Philip Verrill Mighels. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.)

Four Boys in the Yellowstone Mr. Everett T. Tomlinson opens a new series about the wonders and beauties of our own land, in a good story describing "Four Boys in the Yellowstone." A friendship formed in school extends over a vacation of travel, and the views of the boys are widened and they are made more patriotic by a personal knowledge of our big continent. (Four Boys in the Yellowstone. By Everett T. Tomlinson. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston. $1.50.)

The Gentleman Ragman A bright but unsophisticated boy, factotum to the village editor, shares with us his youthful impressions of the world in a story called "The Gentleman Ragman," by Wilbur Nesbit. Country gossip, shrewd philosophy, and social and commercial methods are shown in an amusing light through Johnny's comments. As an agent in the love story, and as aid to Oscar, the boy who longs to be a detective, Johnny is a success. The book will find favor with many readers who enjoy a good-natured, satirical view of their neighbors. (The Gentleman Ragman. By Wilbur Nesbit. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Highways and Byways in Dorsett This book is ideal in its way—a delightful contribution to the Highways and Byways Series published by Macmillan. In this kind of leisurely writing, with no narrative interest of any sort, the style should be a source of pleasure, and Sir Frederick Treves expresses himself with such ease and literary grace that he is an unusually agreeable companion in these wanderings through Dorsett, "where time has moved back a hundred years or so," and one has "stepped into a corner of Old England." The volume is fully illustrated by Joseph Pennell, whose drawings are not only charming in themselves, but specially felicitous in connection with the text. (Highways and Byways in Dorsett. By Sir Frederick Treves, Bart. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

The Land of Pardons It seems that the translator of these charming studies of old Brittany came upon the volume "Au Pays des Pardons" one rainy day in a wayside railway station, and upon reaching Tréguier, her destination, she began at once to put it into English. It is at Tréguier that the poor make supplication to St. Ives. "Like all races that have suffered," writes M. Anatole le Braz in speaking of the Breton, "he comforts himself with a great messianic hope, and while waiting for the improbable day he places his confidence in St. Ives, defender of the humble." Beginning with the Pardon of the Poor, the writer describes these various religious festivals, the "Pardons," unchanged during two hundred years and preserving a mysticism almost mediæval. M. le Braz is a native Breton and a poet; his style has that delicacy and dramatic point which are a source of pleasure in the best French writers. The book is illustrated with a number of fine photographs, and twelve unusually attractive color studies by T. C. Gotch. (The Land of Pardons. By M. Anatole le Braz. Translated by Frances M. Gostling. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

The Leader "The Leader" is a very good story in a conventional way, although the politics are rather bookish, and the social background is not specially true to any American locality. It is the history of John Dalton's personal struggle against the political machine, and of his love affair with a young woman who helps to sustain his uncompromising honesty. It will interest

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those who enjoy a piece of fiction constructed on familiar lines and smoothly written. (The Leader. By Mary Dillon. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Listener's Lure

The charming versatility of Mr. E. V. Lucas's genius shows anew in what he calls a Kensington Comedy, "Listener's Lure." The simple plan of the book—a guardian fleeing from his young ward, and trusting vainly to separation to cure his love for her—is not intended to be kept a mystery. The cleverness of the author, who tells the story by means of a general correspondence among a group of people attached to the chief characters, is a continual delight. Modern London, with its fads and its unacknowledged but universal fear of "Americanization," is brilliantly described. Discriminating literary comment, gay bits of good-tempered humor, more penetrating darts of irony, and a general kindly outlook upon an entertaining world, make up these letters. From the irresistible, narrow-minded spinster, Aunt Charlotte, to the sophisticated yet sweet-natured woman of the world, Adelaide Fielding, the feminine range is wide, but no more varied than the distance between Lynn Harberton, the timid guardian, and Mr. Algernon Damp, the rich Oxford undergraduate. Especial joy may be found in these pages by any American who knows England and her people. (Listener's Lure. By E. V. Lucas. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

Long Ago in Greece

Here are a score of the best and best-known stories from the classic sources; such as those of Atalanta, Psyche, the Sirens, Pandora, and the Battle of the Frogs and Mice. They are retold simply and in every way made attractive to the youthful reader. The illustrations are admirably chosen from antique bas-reliefs, old statues, and from famous paintings. (Long Ago in Greece. By Edmund J. Carpenter, Litt.D. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.)

A Novel of India

The author of "Those Delightful Americans" and other merry stories, having touched a higher and more serious plane in "The Imperialist," now approaches Indian politics in her latest novel, "Set in Authority." Mrs. Cotes has studied her circle in India attentively, and she is able to portray character with most admirable skill. The civil and the military service there are full of significant signs, and the natives furnish the wonders. The scene opens in London, where the appointment of a new Viceroy of India occupies the attention of a large circle of English relatives and friends. Lord Thame goes to India with several firm convictions; prominent among them stands his conception of the proper relation between Englishman and native. Out of his theories and the circumstances of his rule is woven a net for his feet and for the feet of his under officers of government. All this is most interesting, but the ordinary reader will find an immense amount of amusement and agreeable stimulation in the clever epigrammatic style of the story. It is quotable to a large degree, and cannot be read without constant responsive smiles and a desire to share the witty characterizations with any near-by neighbor. (Set in Authority. By Mrs. Everard Cotes—Sarah Jeannette Duncan. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The Prince Goes Fishing

This is a romance written by Elizabeth Duer, on lines laid down by several of her predecessors who love to linger about the smaller courts of Europe and find material for novels in the field first exploited by Anthony Hope. No tragedy lurks in this tale, however—only a lovely Princess whose royal marriage is arranged by her impecunious father with a rather reluctant Crown Prince. The title has a demure suggestion pointing toward the simple stratagem by which happiness came into the marriage of state. The dialogue is vivacious, and many of the situations are cleverly managed. (The Prince Goes Fishing. By Elizabeth Duer. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Psychological Principles of Education

One cannot read the preface of this book without recognizing the hand of a master, and its perusal deepens this impression. The title is not fully descriptive of it. It is mainly concerned with the practical applications of the scientific principles which underlie the art of teaching. Professor Horne's preceding work on "The Philosophy of Education" dealt mainly with theory; this deals mainly with theory as put to use in the art of educating the intellectual, the emotional, the moral, and the religious nature. The chapter on "Educating the Imagination" wisely emphasizes a much-neglected subject. The prominence given to the problems of religious education is most timely for present need. Among the various merits of this valuable "study in the science of education" is to be reckoned that of literary as well as scientific finish. (The Psychological Principles of Education. By Herman Harrell Horne, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.)

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The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit

The series of lectures on the Lyman Beecher foundation given at Yale last winter received extended editorial comment in The Outlook of April 17. Perusal of the volume in which they now appear justifies the judgment then expressed of their timeliness and value. That a moral crisis confronts the Church and summons it to show its capacity for moral leadership no reflecting mind will deny. Such a capacity is certainly evinced in these lectures. Addressed to theological students, they carry to laymen also a message both awakening and inspiring. The modern church is ethicizing its theology; it must also ethicize the industrial system that forms its material basis and maintains economic conditions which for multitudes of industrial workers block the way to spiritual life and create indifference to the church's Gospel. To all involved in such a situation Dr. Brown brings his message. The industrial system at present devoted to material ends in the making of wealth must be so reconstructed as to secure moral ends in the making of men. The summer days of the present order cannot long continue. Threatening clouds forebode a change of weather. It is high time to reinstate the social ideals of Jesus as presented in his "Gospel of the Kingdom"—the ideal society in which each is for all and all are for God. Dr. Brown takes for the basis of his treatment of existing conditions the book of Exodus, sociologically studied as "The Story of an Ancient Labor Movement," in which the Hebrew Church took rise. As a specimen of the expository treatment of Scripture this is strikingly fresh and pertinent. Vitalized throughout by a strenuous moral tone, insisting on the supremacy of spiritual ends and values, these lectures are characterized also by the breadth of view and sanity of judgment which come of long and friendly contact with the interests both of trade unionists and capitalists in California. (The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit. By Charles Reynolds Brown, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25, net.)

A Story by Pierre Loti

The translation of Pierre Loti's new Turkish story, "Disenchanted," is likely to attract attention. In it is presented a picture of life in the Turkish harem of which the Western world has had hints, but which has not been definitely known. Under the form of a curious romance, the story goes that André Lhéry, a French novelist, was drawn into correspondence with a young Turkish lady of high rank, who wrote to him to express her appreciation of his books. Having been educated by an accomplished French woman, she turned eagerly to all modern literature as an outlet for her soul and mind, fettered by her hereditary position as a Turkish woman. She rebelled against her anomalous life, and described it bitterly in one of the stolen interviews with André. During his residence in Stamboul she and two of her cousins managed to meet him, and begged him to tell all the world of the unhappy Moslem women—"brought up as prodigies, bluestockings, musical dolls, objects of luxury for their father and their master, and then treated as odalisques and slaves, like our ancestresses a century ago. No, we can bear it no longer!" she exclaimed. The details of the picture are perfectly finished, as we expect of Loti, but there is a deep note of earnestness in his appeal that shows profound emotion. (Disenchanted. By Pierre Loti. Translated by Clara Bell. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

A Story for Girls

Rather an unusually good story for girls by Alice Ward Bailey introduces us to "Roberta and Her Brothers." Unless her father counted as a brother, queer as he was, he should not have been left out of the title. Roberta is a delightful, energetic, bright girl, filling a hard place with so much "sand" that, as she declares, it sets her teeth on edge. She writes her graduating essay ten times over, and she is later forced by circumstances to exemplify her subject, "The Vice of Altruism," in her own life. The story is wholesome, lively, and sufficiently natural to arouse a response in the heart of all girl readers. (Roberta and Her Brothers. By Alice Ward Bailey. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

The Story of Marie de Rozel

This dainty little volume has for its frontispiece an oval miniature of the pretty Huguenot, taken from an old-fashioned ring. The story is very slight—a picturesque bit from a romantic chapter in French history, not quite so interesting as it should be, considering the material. (The Story of Marie de Rozel, Huguenot. By Alicia Aspinwall. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 75c., net.)

A Toy Tragedy

Elsie and Tommy and Pamela and Jean are a homeless little quartet whose adventures are the subject of this story. It doesn't end quite happily, but it is interesting and brightly written—not too sad to please the youthful audience for whom it is intended. It is an attractive children's story, although the situations are just the least bit improbable, and there is a touch of false sentiment in the relations between the good little sister and the pretty spoiled one. Tommy is a

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decidedly successful character. (A Toy Tragedy. By Mrs. Henry de la Pasture. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Two Cadets with Washington This is one of the capital tales written by W. O. Stoddard for young folks. In a country constantly recruited from foreign lands every effort should be made to acquaint foreign-born children with our National history. There are few better ways to do this than through these bright stories. (Two Cadets with Washington. By W. O. Stoddard. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston. $1.25.)

A Wanderer in London No book about people and places has more atmospheric charm and local color than Mr. Lucas's "A Wanderer in Holland." It would be excessive praise to say that it is equaled by "A Wanderer in London," for in the present work Mr. Lucas spends proportionately too much time in the picture galleries, an excess which is emphasized by the fact that the illustration of the book is so largely reproduction of famous paintings. But apart from this defect, which some readers, indeed, may consider a merit, Mr. Lucas is a capital companion about the maze of London streets. He knows and tells all the associations of localities; he takes one into a hundred odd corners; he is in sympathetic touch with living Londoners of all classes and all occupations. The fascination of London, he tells us, that which the traveler must come to see, is "London men and women, her millions of men and women. . . . If he has any interest in the human hive, this is the place. He can study it here day and night for a year, and there will still be vast tracts unknown to him." But the material as well as the human side of London receives due attention. One can hardly hope to find a better way of reviving impressions and seeing things in a new setting than through this cheerful and friendly volume. (A Wanderer in London. By E. V. Lucas. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75, net.)

Yiddish Stories The works of Perez, the well-known Yiddish writer, have been translated into many European languages, but this is the first volume in which his stories are given in collected form to the English-speaking public. Before he has read two pages the reader will realize that he has fallen in with an original mind—a mind whose expression is inevitably literature. But it is the literature of bitterness, touched now and then with a somber exaltation peculiar to the writer's race. Added to this there is a certain North-country pessimism in these descriptions of the Russian Jew. Perez was born in Samoscz, Russia. The style is marked by a double significance, an inner meaning which penetrates the realism; and it is always tragic, expressing the experience of a persecuted people. The stories are not pathetic; they are too grim for that. They are short in form, depending in the main upon a dramatic perception of character, having no narrative interest, or very little. The various difficulties confronting the translator have not been entirely overcome; but to reproduce a local dialect is almost as impossible as to reproduce the subtle qualities of style. (Stories and Pictures. By Isaac Loeb Perez. Translated by Helena Frank. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. $1.50.)

Zarathushtra This study, by an accomplished Oriental scholar, of the relativity of the founder of the ancient religion of Persia (whose name is Anglicized as Zoroaster) to the Greek philosophers, the inscriptions of the (Achæmenid) Persian kings, the *Logos* doctrine of Philo the Jew, and the religion of Israel, is a valuable essay in comparative religion. For Zoroaster as "a soul unique in history" full originality is claimed. Speaking as a Christian scholar, Dr. Mills finds in the hymns of Zoroaster, whose fragments survive in the sacred book of the Avesta, the oldest revelation of "a spiritual life on earth with a moral heaven beyond it." A Persian influence in the development of Jewish theology, as in the doctrines of angels, demons, and resurrection, has long been recognized. Dr. Mills holds that it was this Persian influence that saved Judaism during the period of the Exile from Babylonian polytheism, fixed it in its ultimate determination to strict monotheism, and promoted its evolution into Christianity. Whether the oldest hymns in the Avesta—dating, according to Professor W. D. Whitney, about 1000 B.C., and according to Dr. Mills much earlier—can be ascribed to Zoroaster is a mooted point. Professor Jackson, of Columbia, assigns Zoroaster to the seventh century B.C. Less doubtful is the claim that monotheism, though coming to us through the Hebrew branch of the Semitic race, has descended from a still more ancient source in our own Aryan race. (Zarathushtra, Philo, The Achæmenids, and Israel. In 2 Parts. By Dr. Lawrence H. Mills. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.)

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Letters to The Outlook

SPELLING REFORM IN OPERATION

There has been no end of discussion of the spelling reform order, but the writer has seen no data regarding its effect in operation. It is not the intention here to express any opinion as to the wisdom of reforming our spelling or as to the method of bringing about the reform, but merely to present the facts regarding one report in which the new spelling is used.

The order has been put into effect by the United States Department of Agriculture, and the writer recently had occasion to read the proof of an article prepared before the issuance of the order, but revised as to spelling, in accordance with the order.

The report contains about 20,000 words, and "reformed" words occur 70 times. That is to say, about .35 of one per cent. of the words are affected. The report will make 36 pages, making an average of 2 reformed words to the page. Twelve different words occur, as follows: Thru 38 times, thoroly 7 times, altho 6 times, mixt 4 times, comprest 3 times, thoro 3 times, thruout 3 times, washt twice, and trapt, crusht, fixt, and stopt, once each.

One of the reasons urged for the adoption of the reform in our Government publications is the shortening of the reports by the cutting out of extra letters. The effect in this regard in the report under discussion is interesting. There are approximately 82,000 letters in this report, and the changes in spelling made a saving of 189 letters, or .23 of one per cent. There are on an average 55.5 letters in one line, and the report is therefore shortened 3.4 lines, or approximately one line in ten pages of the 36 pages contained in the report. There are 45 long primer lines in a regulation Government document page, and the saving is therefore one page in 450. Long primer composition is charged to the Department by the Public Printer at $1.30 per page, and the saving in composition on the 36-page report was a little less than 11 cents.

As this report was prepared entirely without reference to the order, it is fair to suppose that it is representative of Government publications.

R. P. TEELE.

Washington, D. C.

"THRU"—A SMALL PROTEST

Mark Twain, in a delicious early sketch of the fate of a "Webster's Unabridged" which went "sloshing around" in the California placer-mining camps during the idle season, and fell into the hands of successive patient readers who "couldn't make anything out of her" as literature, characterizes one of these, and gives the reason of his failure by saying in substance that "—— could *spell* with any man in Calaveras County, but he couldn't *pronounce* worth a cuss!" The connection between spelling and pronouncing thus wittily indicated is my text, and, starting with the principle that no change should be made in English orthography without due consideration of its effect upon English orthoepy, I skip all further exposition and come down to a single application.

The late edict substitutes "thru" for "through." I have seen several protests against this barbarous form, based on its uniquely ugly and un-English looks; but nobody seems so far to have expressed the true ground for its condemnation.

Our English *u* came chiefly, not from the Saxon (*i.e.*, the German), but from the Norman. The German *u*, with the sound of *oo*, we represent by *o*, in "to" (from "zu"), "do" (from "thun"), etc. The Germans say "mooseek," but we took the word "music" from the French, and kept the Norman *u*. This Norman *u* has a different sound, more like that of the French *u* of to-day. Thus, in such words as "Tuesday," "constitution," "music," "numeral," etc., the sound of the vowel is not that of *oo*. In the English literature of the last fifty years the pronunciation of *u* as if it were *oo* has been satirized as vulgar. "Toosday," "constitootion," etc., are current expressions of this satire. Moreover, the charge is true. The too common American degradation of *u* to *oo* is not, like many other alleged Americanisms, a relic of the former and classic English pronunciation, but a piece of reckless and illiterate phonetic degeneration, which has its counterpart in the opposite corruption of *oo* to *u*. The origin of both vulgarisms is, I fancy, to be found in a certain ambiguity caused by the difference between the French and the German *u*. But I think no competent authority would deny that "dew" for "do," and "Toosday" for "Tuesday," are alike bad; while non-expert authorities would settle the question offhand. Tell a man from Butte, Montana, that the name of his home is "Boot," and see what will happen!

Now the proper pronunciation of "through" is and has always been "throo." The original German "durch" has that vowel sound, and

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the word has come to us without the least taint of Norman influence. Why should we adopt a spelling which either makes it "threw," or gives to *u* the almost unknown English sound of *oo*?

I am quite aware that many of us Americans habitually say *oo* for *u*; indeed, I am afraid I am myself a frequent offender in that particular; but I have not yet sunk so low as to set up my carelessness as a standard.

Finally, I would point out that many of us, without being commanded to do so, have, for a generation past, employed "thro'" as a convenient abbreviation for "through." A similar abbreviation is universally employed for proper names ending in *ough*, in which the final letters are silent—as "Edinboro'" for "Edinborough." Nobody would seriously object to dropping the apostrophe which now indicates the curtailment; or, if anybody did object, he could put in his apostrophe and be laughed at. Written in this already familiar fashion, whether as "thro'" or "thro," the word "through" would keep company with two at least of the most familiar English words, "to" and "do." Can it be possible that, if this reform should go thru successfully, and President Roosevelt should be (for reasons, of course, of much more than orthographic importance) obliged to serve for another term, we may be executively recommended to write "du" and "tu"?

There is one other word in the list, the new spelling of which tempts to a wrong pronunciation—namely, "carest" for "caressed." Here it is the accent, not the vowel, which is affected; and there is another word to be spelled in the same way and pronounced differently. Why not avoid this contradiction by adopting "caresst"?

R. W. RAYMOND.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING

Having for half a century been a writer for the press, I offer the opinion of a veteran as to the proposed changes of English spelling. No doubt the language can be amended in some respects, for the spelling of our day, in Shakespeare's time, and before that, shows that changes have continually been going on. There is room for extended argument, but I confine my remarks to a few of the changes proposed in The Outlook for October, to sustain my claim that some proposed are not advisable, as, for instance: To "ban" is to forcibly forbid, while *banns* means the marriage ceremony; to "bark" is the distinguishing mark of a canine or other animal, while a *barque* means a certain class of seagoing vessel; to "gild" is to give a golden appearance, while a *guild* is an association or brotherhood; *hough* means a sort of hoe, also a joint of the foot or heel, as also to hamstring, while "hock" is a Rhine wine; "kist" is a stated payment, also a chest, and it will be a far reach to write "kist" instead of *kissed*; "mist" is a fog, while *missed*, that sounds the same, has a very different meaning; "past" refers to the bygone, while *passed* and *pass* are used in an active sense, so there is special meaning for *passed*; "rapt," or rapture, refers to a mental mood, while *rapped*—having the same sound—means to strike or snatch away. I offer these examples to show the need to use words for their meaning, and so spelled that the proper meaning cannot be misunderstood. There are words we are so attached to that to change the spelling seems a mutilation of some ancient friend. To write "distressed" is very little effort; to write "prest" rather than pressed—and so with a thousand other words—is little saving of time in a long essay. To me it seems mutilation rather than improvement.

S. A. CLARKE,
Law Librarian General Land Office.
Washington, D. C.

THE GENTLE ART OF KILLING FISH

Permit me to take exception to Mr. McFarland's article on "The Gentle Art of Killing Fish," in your issue of September 8. I feel that he is in error both in point of fact and in the false sympathy which he attempts to create. Mr. McFarland offers no proof that fish feel pain, but bases his whole article upon a mere assumption that they do. Upon this imaginary assumption, and in the face of the facts, he proceeds to condemn all anglers as unnecessarily and purposely cruel. He assumes particularly that a fish's lip is nearly, if not quite, as sensitive as a man's, and that a hook causes him extreme pain.

The Spectator, in a recent issue, writes of the trout at the Battery Aquarium. I once had the pleasure of sitting on the iron rail in front of those tanks of trout for six hours of each day during fourteen days. I did nothing but study those fish. Many, both of the trout and the pike, in pursuing the live bait fed to them, thrust themselves so violently against the sides of the tanks that their noses were torn and abraded in a manner to excite sympathy. Nevertheless, during all my observations, I never once saw where a trout, although his nose was already nothing but a torn mass of whitened pulp, showed the least sign of pain from striking the side of the tank. They would sometimes dart around as if some sensation were caused by the

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impact, but the next instant would settle down to eating their fish with the greatest satisfaction and relish. Here were trout with their lips and noses—parts which Mr. McFarland claims are the most sensitive—beaten to a whitened sore (far more sensitive than any new wound and one to which the prick of a hook could not compare), but this moment torn open anew, and yet they calmly enjoyed their food. The nearest I ever saw a trout come to evidencing pain was once when I saw a twelve-inch brook trout catch and swallow a brother trout about five inches long. He nearly choked to death. He was a cannibal, and he ought to have choked to death, but he didn't. I have known a two-pound trout to fight viciously for five minutes, get away, renew the attack at the second cast, and then fight for nearly ten minutes in spite of every effort to land him. (This was not cruelty; we very much desired the fish to eat.) I have known five or six pickerel, caught and thrown back into the lake, to bite at the same spot within the hour. Some had slits in their mouths two inches long, made when they were caught the first time, yet they bit again. Would a man with a six-inch rip in the side of his head feel at once like eating? Wouldn't he notice it?

It is in the face of such evidence as this that Mr. McFarland scores Dr. van Dyke for being unduly and willfully cruel to his trout. He persists in thinking that the trout fight because of pain and cruelty, and never once considers that a trout is a wild animal and may fight because he does not enjoy the society of people; that his fighting is merely on the principle of the pig tied by the hind leg—he goes ahead to get away; that were the line attached to the fish with a piece of adhesive plaster in place of a hook, the result would be just the same. Can Mr. McFarland see the point? He may say that the fright was unnecessary even if the fish did not feel the hook. But how could it be helped? The law does not permit us to gaff trout, and they do not care for cod hooks. It is not possible to yank them out of the water as suddenly as Mr. McFarland would like to have us do it. As for a sportsman allowing his trout to flop around unkilled, no sportsman would dream of doing such a thing. On the other hand, the professional fisherman for the market rarely, if ever, thinks of killing his fish. He is too busy. He is used to their dying. Often they are dead when they are taken into the boat. Does Mr. McFarland think that the fish enjoys hanging on a trawl all night and drowning in preference to being brought to the landing-net in five or in twenty-five minutes and instantly killed? Yet he appears to approve of this method thoroughly! Space forbids following from point to point, though there is not a case where his argument will stand the light of common sense.

But does he want further proof of the feelings of fish? Twice this summer I tore cod badly, and caught them a few minutes later. Many times I have seen them with the hooks of two lines in their mouths. I have hooked a salmon three times in one afternoon, lost one hook by him, and then caught him on the fourth attempt. I have known a fish after being reeled half-way to the boat to sheer sidewise suddenly and take another bait. There is an authentic record of a shark, torn open by a blubber spade while feeding upon a whale, that continued feeding eagerly while the other sharks tore out his entrails and ate them, and he stopped eating only when he rolled over dead. Was he *sensitive* to pain? Three times I have seen trout with wounds made within twenty-four hours that were equal to the loss of an arm to a man. Two bit the hook with great eagerness, the third did not refuse. After a great deal of observation in the field, I confess calmly, and I believe fair-mindedly, that I find Mr. McFarland absolutely in error in his attitude on this matter. Had I found anything to support his views, I would gladly mention it Moreover, his attitude is pernicious. He is creating a false set of values, a false market for sympathy. There is not enough sympathy now—we cannot afford to waste any. People with a sympathy which is prone to slop over at the wrong time are the cause of almost as much cruelty as those who are downright brutal. I knew two maiden ladies who kept a poor rat in a half-drowned condition in cold water for eight hours in a stupidly ineffectual effort to drown him, all because they thought it would be such cruelty to hit him on the head. A friend of mine was at a railway station when a small dog attacked the incoming train and was half killed. The woman who owned him begged some one to do something for him. A river-driver tore a slat from a fence and killed him. The woman went into hysterics and fainted because the man was so cruel! These are fair examples of this thoroughly misapplied, cowardly, hysterical sympathy. Here is a third example; they are all true. An elderly literary man whom I knew, together with two of his friends, was going along a road accompanied by a little dog. Suddenly they heard the dog bark, and saw that he was about to be struck by a rattlesnake which lay coiled in the dust. It came over them that the dog was about to be killed. They were all so shocked at the idea of having to witness the scene that, instead of

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going to help the dog, they turned back to avoid the sight. One of them produced a flask of the appropriate remedy for snake-bites, and they all drank to steady their nerves to meet the ordeal they were about to go through. When they did look around, they found that a stranger coming up from the opposite direction had despatched the rattlesnake with a stick. These were all kind-hearted men, but something ailed them. I trust I make myself clear.

Brewer, Maine. W. M. HARDY.

IMMIGRATION AND THE SOUTH

Mr. J. J. Hill, of the Great Northern Railway, seems to be uneasy when he thinks of the future coal supply, and asks, What will we do when the country has two hundred million people to supply? What does England do now? If Texas were as thickly populated as England, she would supply the needs of 180,000,000 people. Think of the sparsely settled regions. This country could hold five hundred millions and not be crowded. According to the census of 1900, there were about three million people in this State. There were ten counties with an average of thirty persons, four with an average of twenty, two with only fifteen and one-half persons each.

But when we read that twenty-five thousand home-seekers left the vicinity of Chicago recently on *one* of those bi-monthly home-seekers' excursions, we can readily see how rapidly Texas is filling up.

The writer, on one of his trips through that rich country below San Antonio (1898), went thirty-five miles without meeting a person or coming to a field or house. He was lost, but all he had to do was to turn about and follow his wagon track back to the starting-point. I was told by an officer of the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railway recently that "they could not locate the immigrants fast enough." I was mostly attracted by the forming of a colony of truck and garden farmers on the new Southern Pacific Railway near San Antonio. One of them told me that they were not after foreigners or colored people. They wanted the best class of Eastern and Middle Western truck farmers and gardeners, fruit and poultry raisers; that they were buying up all the cheap ($10) land to hold for the colony, and that the Southern Pacific Railway had promised to help make the movement a success. One man in that vicinity has discarded the most of his 440-acre farm, and, with a little gasoline engine and pump, waters and cultivates nine acres with a garden plow (hand), and, with only his son to help him, makes about $450 an acre on his crops of ribbon cane, onions (at 1½ cents a pound), and cabbages.

That is the place, it appears to me, for those who pay rent in the crowded parts of the East and Middle West.

REV. DR. GUNN,
Rector of St. Stephen's Church.

Huntsville, Texas.

THE GOSPEL OF GOOD WORK

The "Impressions of a Careless Traveler" in The Outlook of August 4 has the following: "The parents are as yet indifferent, if not opposed, to industrial education. They have the class feeling against it so common in the United States, as though it were an inferior kind of education."

A similar prejudice against industrial education is expressed in the platform of the "Niagara Movement" recently enunciated at Harper's Ferry: "Hostility to any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people." My purpose in writing to you is to suggest that persistent effort should be made to overcome any hostile feeling that may exist toward industrial education, principally by writings to show that industrial education means *mental cultivation;* that the study involved in how to *do* a thing is of more worth *intellectually* than is the study to know *of a thing;* and, furthermore, that the application of mind and muscle to do a thing accurately, just as it should be done, is instructive to conscience and conducive to the establishment of good moral character.

I presume there are writings on this subject—the elevating influence of accurate work—but my knowledge does not extend to them. Anyhow, it would benefit our people to have the gospel of good work—the gospel of accuracy—preached to them as an intellectual performance and presented to them oftentimes, with often reiteration.

Usually we are inclined to think that the school-teacher is the fit person to whom should be intrusted all matters pertaining to education, and that industrial education pertains only to instruction in the various business trades; but in fact industrial education should commence at home, where there is full opportunity for learning how to do the many household duties that, being well done, conduce to comfort of living, the refinements of home life, and elevation of moral character.

JOHN T. HAWKINS.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

[The Outlook heartily agrees with this letter; it has had much to say on these lines in favor of industrial education as a developer of character, and will have much to say in the future.—THE EDITORS.]

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